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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-027
Friday
10 February 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

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Carcani Delivers Report at Plenum on Agriculture

AU0802050189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Feb 89 p 1-3

["On Some Measures for the Further Development of Agriculture—Report Delivered by Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo Member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum" in Tirana on 1-2 February]

[Text] The AWP Central Committee Politburo has considered it necessary to hold a special Central Committee plenum on the problems of the further development of agriculture.

The party has always viewed the socialist transformation of the countryside on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the fast development of agricultural production as a fundamental issue of vital importance for the fate of the revolution and the country's socialist construction. The correct solution of the agrarian question and the sustenance of agriculture are at the very center of the party's economic and social policy because of their particular role in the country's social and economic development, in raising the working masses' prosperity, in narrowing the differences between town and countryside, and continually strengthening the alliance between the workers' class and the cooperativist peasantry.

The consistent enforcement of the party's Marxist-Leninist line on socialist collectivization and the inexorable progress of agriculture, and the comprehensive support given by society, have made it possible for us to carry out the socialist revolution in our countryside intensively and thoroughly. Today, agriculture has become one of the basic spheres of the whole country's independent economic development. For more than a decade now it has supplied the people's bread and more than 85 percent of the people's basic food, alongside raw materials for light industry and the food industry. More than 40 percent of the value of our exports consists of industrial products of agricultural origin or unprocessed agricultural products. More than one-half of the labor force works in the countryside, and earns 70 percent of its income from agricultural production. Agriculture earns important funds for accumulation for both itself and society. It is the basic sector of the economy and plays a decisive and irreplaceable role in the whole country's economic and cultural development.

Despite these great achievements, under today's conditions and because of a range of factors, it has become necessary to ensure faster agricultural development and progress and to improve the effectiveness of labor in this sector of the economy. The broad popular discussion of the statutes, the high standard with which the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress conducted its proceedings and the important decisions it approved, which the AWP Central Committee fully supports, have confirmed once again the vigor and superiority of the cooperativist order and the confidence and determination of the cooperativist peasantry and other working people in agriculture to follow in the future as well the road of the inexorable development of agriculture. This is an inspiration for the party and for the correctness of its line, and is at the same time a call for a greater commitment on the part of the party, state and economic bodies, and all social organizations, to supporting more strongly the cooperativist peasantry in increasing agriculture and livestock production faster, in order to respond better to the growing needs of the people and the economy.

The party is fully convinced that opportunities for increasing the pace of agricultural development must be sought and found within the cooperativist order itself, in the creative abilities of the working people, in the technical and material base which we are always strengthening, in the extensive application in production of the achievements of science and advanced experience, and the wider and more effective use of economic levers.

However, while stressing the fuller use of the many opportunities and reserves that agriculture possesses, the party has at the same time demanded stronger support and a greater contribution to agricultural development from other branches of the economy.

In the last 2-3 years, apart from the difficulties created by the capitalist-revisionist blockade and siege, we have also been confronted by problems created by the weather and prolonged drought. Nevertheless, we have succeeded in overcoming them with struggle and effort and have ensured a relatively good level of agricultural production. Under the circumstances, without the socialist agricultural system, without the tireless labor of the cooperativist peasantry and the comprehensive support of the workers' class and the whole of society, disasters and retreats in agriculture would have been unavoidable. Many countries in the world today are experiencing stagnant or declining agricultural production, and even food crises.

In wheat, despite the unusual conditions last year, greater production was achieved than ever before. For some years now, cotton production has been stable, and there have been improvements in the supply of the market and the peasantry with vegetables. Work is improving in growing olives, citrus fruits, and so on. A turning-point is being reached in stockraising during the present 5-year period, and the number of head has risen quickly. During the last 2 years, milk production has increased by an average of 30,000 tonnes, or more than 10 kg per person. The revolutionary movement for the creation, consolidation, and further strengthening of small herds and fields at brigade-level has had an immediate, visible effect, testifying to the correctness of the party's guidelines, supplying the families of cooperativists and working people in agricultural enterprises with fresh milk, and creating conditions for the regular supply of dairy products, as well as vegetables, potatoes, beans, and meat.

In properly assessing these achievements, as well as the shortcomings and failures that have been noticed, we are today once again aware that difficulties are still encountered in supplying the people with agricultural and animal products and in securing raw materials for industry. The considerable deficits created by agriculture in financial revenues and foreign currency earnings have also had economic and social consequences both for the peasantry themselves and the entire country. Except for wheat, milk, meat and citrus fruits, which have exhibited growth in comparison with 1987, there has been a decline in other crops, especially in corn, sugar beet, tobacco, potatoes, beans, and vegetables.

It is also a serious fact that even the achievements of the agricultural enterprises, which should be in the vanguard of agricultural and livestock production, are below what is possible and below the demands they are faced with, especially in relation to the greater technical and material base they possess in comparison with agricultural cooperatives. The agricultural enterprises in the districts of Kruje and Vlore, incurring losses of 15 million leks each, in Kukes, incurring a loss of 13 million leks, and in Lushnje, Tirana, Shkoder, and Berat, have been particularly weak.

The complacency displayed in some cases following the good wheat results and the figures of the first half of last year for meat and milk production, especially from the small herds, has also been damaging. In 1988, while the districts of Korce, Permet, Tepelene, Gjirokaster, and Tirana, thanks to their determined labor, fulfilled their production targets for milk from the brigades' small herds by between 110 and 126 percent, the districts of Kruje, Lezhe, Librazhd, Kukes, and Skrapar met only between 56 and 62 percent of their targets, while Mat, Gramsh, and Puke were lower than other districts, at between 44 and 52 percent.

It is agricultural enterprises, the relevant party and state organs in the districts, and especially the Ministry of Agriculture, whose role and responsibility in meeting plan targets must be greater, who carry the main responsibility for nonfulfillments in agriculture. The management of labor in the Ministry of Agriculture must be raised to a higher standard without fail. The apparatus of this ministry, and especially its directorates and district inspectorates, are not properly persistent in carrying out the duties assigned to them. The Ministry of Agriculture should concentrate more on essential, current, and future issues involving the agricultural progress of the whole country, but the main thing remains improving working methods and tightening direction and labor-management.

Faster Increases in Agricultural and Livestock Production Call for Greater and More Comprehensive Support

Regarding the weaknesses and shortcomings observed in the agricultural sector, the party has instructed that the relevant organs should first of all deal with the elimination of negative influences and failures of a subjective character. Meanwhile, the experience of recent years, especially 1988, with its prolonged very dry weather, shows that agriculture needs more support for its vital material and technical base.

It is well known that the uninterrupted development of agriculture and livestock production relies principally on the socialist system of production, on agricultural cooperatives and enterprises, on the mobilization, organization, and creative labor of working people in agriculture, and on increased employment (which has risen by 300,000 persons in the last decade alone), as well as on the existing technical and material base with which they have been provided.

Nevertheless, the need to increase agricultural and livestock production faster, first of all in the case of cereals, but also industrial crops, vegetables, and animal products, demands the further and faster intensification of agricultural production, improved use of the material and technical base, and many associated factors.

The 1989 plan, despite some deviations from the quotas of the 5-year period, foresees complex tasks for increasing agricultural production by about 17 percent in comparison with 1988. This plan, and the higher achievements we must attain in agriculture in the future, demand, alongside greater mobilization, an increase in actual labor and the more effective use of the material and technical base at our disposal, as well as greater support from investments and a stronger material base.

The party has therefore instructed the state and planning organs, when allocating and using investments and foreign currency resources, to give more consideration to the present and future needs of agriculture. Relying on this important guideline and on the many problems and sound suggestions raised during the people's debate on the draft statutes and during the proceedings of the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress, the AWP Central Committee Politburo intends to discuss and make decisions at this meeting relating to the further encouragement and development of agricultural and livestock production, with the aim of increasing it more and faster, in order to better meet the needs and demands of the people and of industry.

The draft decree submitted to this plenum for approval provides guidelines on solving the principal problems in the field of increasing production and refining economic relations, involving in particular the greater and more comprehensive support that society must give the agricultural cooperatives. Because of its great importance as the fundamental source for obtaining the necessary agricultural production, the draft decree devotes particular attention to the land, its protection from damage and abuse, and the constant improvement of its fertility, and to increasing the cultivable area wherever there are the appropriate conditions and opportunities. This task becomes even more imperative, because we have only 2,200 square meters under cultivation per head of population, and the trend is downwards, for we had 2,600 meters in 1980.

For this reason, it is a primary duty of all districts to create new agricultural land according to the surveys that have been carried out. Apart from this, about 9,000 hectares must be acquired in the coastal region alone by 1995, of the 18,000 hectares that have been surveyed and found potentially cultivable. Also, with the aid of measures to protect rivers and streams from erosion, it is possible and necessary for us to acquire 2,000 hectares of new land from riverbeds. This will provide us with the experience to enable us to obtain further land in the future from the seacoast and riverbeds.

It is planned that mass actions, with better support from the transportation network, will treat 32,000 hectares of previously untreated acidic and magnesial land with lime before 1991. Further specific measures will be undertaken to start cultivating salt land that has been subject to soil improvement schemes.

In order to eliminate, as far as possible, the influence of drought on agricultural production, the draft decree provides for important measures to strengthen the soil improvement and irrigation enterprises, speeding up the construction of water schemes, raising the height of dams, reconstructing the irrigation network and improving its circulatory capacity, improving drainage, and so forth. In order to guarantee the volume of construction planned for the soil improvement enterprises and to increase their scale of operation, their transportation will be improved and these enterprises' machinery will be renewed, involving the import of about 200 motor vehicles such as the necessary excavators and bulldozers.

These measures will make it possible to increase the area of irrigated land at a faster rate, improve irrigation, eliminate water loss in the irrigation network, and extend the use of sprinklers on the country's most fertile land, thus guaranteeing high yields in the production of potatoes, vegetables, beans, sugar beet, corn, and so forth. There are major and just demands to accelerate the introduction of mechanized operations in agriculture and to improve their quality, with the aim of utilizing production technology as well as possible and reducing damage and waste.

Although the level of mechanization has risen in the last 5 years, the level of machinery use per hectare has not shown any significant improvement, because the composition of our tractor pool remains three to one in favor of tractors with caterpillar treads, at a time when agricultural work has a greater need for tractors with tires. This makes its necessary to expand our tractor pool, improving its structure in favor of tractors with tires, as well as increasing our stock of machines and equipment for agricultural processes, harvesting, and threshing.

For all these purposes, and bearing in mind the conclusions of the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress, the draft decree provides for measures to renew and expand the pool of tractors and agricultural machinery in the agricultural machinery stations, and to support these stations better with more spare parts of better quality. These measures have also become necessary because more than 1500 have now virtually reached the end of their lives, and their continued use cannot be justified on either technical or economic grounds. Many old types of combines and other forms of agricultural machinery are not put to use, while the gasoline-driven vehicles that the agricultural cooperatives possess have reached the end of their lives, their level of use is low, and they are maintenance poor. As a result, the mechanization of labor processes does not match the requirements of field work, especially in vegetable and potato growing, tobacco, corn, and in orchards, not to mention many tasks that must be performed at peak agricultural periods.

It has thus become necessary to renew the agricultural machinery and tractor pool with the import of 1,000 tractors with tires, 200 combines, 100 trucks, and about 80 motors for the vehicles of the agricultural cooperatives during 1989 and 1990.

It is well known that ensuring the necessary supplies of chemical and organic fertilizer in the right quantities, of the right kind, and at the right time is of primary importance in increasing production faster, especially in the cases of the staple agricultural and livestock products for feeding the people and supplying industry and export, such as cereals, industrial crops, potatoes, beans, vegetables, milk, meat, eggs, fats, and fruit. Calculations show that agriculture should be supplied with an additional 200,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizer and 10-20 percent more pesticide and insecticide than is used today, while more organic fertilizer than planned should be guaranteed in quantity, quality, and on time.

The collection and use of organic fertilizer must be one of agriculture's most important tasks. It is necessary both for the fertility of the soil and to preserve the soil layer from erosion and other natural processes. To underestimate the importance of collecting and processing organic fertilizer and permit the stagnation of its production for years on end at 5.2-5.7 million tonnes a year, when the possibility exists, and the task has been set, of producing 7.0-7.5 million tonnes, shows that the situation must change as soon as possible, especially in the districts of Diber, Kruje, Mat, Durres, Gjirokaster, Gramsh, Kukes, Tropoje, and so forth, where the collection of organic fertilizer has not only not increased, but in some cases has actually declined. At a time when increased potato production is called for, it is intolerable that the use of organic fertilizer on this crop should have fallen by more than 100,000 tonnes in recent years.

It is neither lack of resources nor lack of funds that hampers increased organic fertilizer collection, but erroneous thinking and priority demands for the chemical fertilizers which, if not used in correct proportion with organic fertilizer, not only lead to a failure to fully exploit the opportunities that exist everywhere of gathering organic fertilizer from livestock, woodlands, waste of various kinds, and city garbage, but also alter the soil composition with the toxic elements they contain, a well-known and scientifically founded fact.

It is therefore necessary for party organs, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the districts down to every agricultural enterprise to take thorough organizational measures in order to, at all costs, fulfill the plan for the collection and processing of organic fertilizer, using special brigades and squads and continual mass actions, as the Ninth AWP Congress prescribed.

The measures foreseen in the draft plan for increasing the quantity and variety of chemical fertilizers will come into force with the completion 6 months before schedule of the new superphosphate and urea plants. This step forward will have its effect in 1989, but its influence on increasing agricultural production will be felt more fully in 1990. The faster granulation of superphosphate and the domestic production of insecticide, especially when the Durres chemical works is used at full capacity, will also help to increase the effectiveness of the material-technical base at the disposal of agriculture.

In accordance with the suggestions cooperativists put forward during the discussions of the draft statutes and at the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress, the agricultural and planning authorities from the center to the base must bear in mind the continual improvement of the crop structure, giving priority to cereals, in order to make this structure more responsive to market opportunities, and to harmonize better the interests of group and social property.

The draft decree assigns an important place to enforcing measures to develop stockraising, giving priority to increasing flocks of small livestock, whose number should reach 4.2 million head in 1995, also following the guideline that has been set of maintaining about 4-5 small animals for every cow in the concentrated herds and the small herds of the brigades.

Improving Economic Relations in Agriculture To Give More Encouragement To Fulfill Tasks

Investment and further reinforcement of the material and technical base in agriculture above the levels planned will be accompanied by improvements and refinements in particular aspects of economic relations, so that these relations, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress, will perform their role better as incentives to develop production forces and increase production and its effectiveness.

In this respect, refining the planning of agricultural production is of particular importance, in order to give wider competence to the base. The experiment carried out over a period of several years in Elbasan District, which was extended to Lushnje and Permet, and also to six other districts this year, is encouraging the initiative, self-motivation and sense of responsibility of the base in shouldering greater duties. In working to extend this improved way of planning agricultural production to all the country's agricultural enterprises in 1990, party organizations and economic and state bodies should take care that to make sure it is not considered and implemented simply as a question of competences and assignments, but a planning method which better harmonizes the interests of society with those of the collective, extends cooperativist democracy, and responds better to the conditions and opportunities that have been created for increasing agricultural production and improving its effectiveness at a faster rate.

Under conditions where agricultural economies were given planning authority only as regards delivery and a limited number of other targets, the measures in the field of contract relationships are of particular importance. In implementation of the tasks set by the sixth AWP Central Committee plenum, the Council of Ministers has made improvements in contract criteria, which will increase the influence and responsibility of agricultural enterprises, industry, and trade in keeping closer track of the process of agricultural production and its complete delivery, at the same time increasing their interests in and responsibilities toward production.

For this reason, the improved contracts anticipate a better use of economic levers, such as an obligation on the part of the purchaser to pay up to 60 percent of the value of production during the production phase, as well as the assumption of an obligation on their part to supply the necessary material base for production on time, especially when it is a case of imports. Reciprocal sanctions are also imposed on all sides for failures to perform duties laid down in contracted relationships, and so forth.

Measures that have been taken to use the lever of the purchase prices of agricultural and animal products in a more adroit way will also help boost agricultural production and increase its profitability, especially in highland cooperatives and those specializing in livestock. Besides this, purchasing prices will be made more varied and will be calibrated more according to quality content. In order to harmonize better the interests of society with those of the group, there is still room for improvement in the use of the price lever, with the aim of bringing closer together and harmonizing the levels of profitability of different agricultural branches and crops. There are problems in this sphere that require study, such as stimulating cooperatives whose production for the market is still limited, reviewing the increased purchase prices paid for agricultural and animal products delivered over and above the plan, and further introducing price differentials among cooperatives and according to their geographical situation. The retail prices to cooperativists of the products of the collective plot and of the small herds and fields will also be improved, and made equal to their actual cost.

The aim is to increase agricultural production, to develop highland cooperatives faster, especially those in the northeast, to raise the peasantry's interest in production, and raise further their prosperity.

Measures are also being implemented to improve forms of labor remuneration in order to increase the involvement of working people in agricultural production, to tie their labor more closely with increasing production, improving quality, and increasing cost-effectiveness, also relying on cooperativists' suggestions during the discussion of the draft statutes and the Sixth Agricultural Cooperatives Congress. The main improvements in this field are as follows:

—Brigades which overfulfill planned targets will be given as a bonus the entire value of above-plan production for each individual crop, after subtracting above-plan expenditure and a sum for accumulation. The additional remuneration will be distributed at the end of the year and on condition that the brigade has fulfilled its total earnings plan.

—Leading brigades which plan for and fulfill higher targets than the progressive average of the cooperative will be rewarded to the amount of up to 20 percent more per day or norm of labor more than the average of the cooperative.

—Should the agricultural cooperative consider that poor production results are the result of the poor work of the members of a brigade, the earnings of an individual brigade can be reduced by up to 50 percent.

—Similarly, the salaries of managing cadres and specialists in agricultural cooperatives will be composed partly of a fixed portion, a stable sum during the year and differentiated according to region, and a portion paid by the cooperative which will vary on the basis of the real value of a day's work or a labor norm. Cadres will be remunerated over and above their nominal salaries to the extent that they overfulfill the plan. The pay of working people and cadres in enterprises that serve agricultural cooperatives will also be tied more closely to agricultural production results.

The continual refinement of economic relations is a broad field, always demanding review, considered intervention, and skillful organizational measures. There is work being done on this, but it is true that our apparatus does not involve itself in such problems to the extent it should, and that there is a considerable number of cadres in the party, the state, and the economy who are not very familiar with these issues. If this is true of cadres, it is obvious that there is not enough work being done among the people to identify and act on their views.

An awareness and study of all the problems that socialist relations involve should be considered vital in the working methods of party and state bodies. The improvements we are carrying out in planning and organization, in linking production more closely to incentives in remuneration, in using price levers more effectively, and so forth, should occupy an important place in the work of all party, state, and economic organs, avoiding generalization, formalism, and, in some cases, signs of a purely administrative approach that are noticeable in attitudes to these matters. These organs should engage in extensive consultations with cooperativists and working people in the agricultural enterprises and explain these matters simply to them, so that they understand and act upon them. Propaganda in all its forms should be spread in every district and at the center, with concrete explanations; seminars should be organized, and the national and local press, television, and so forth must be used. This must be taken as an essential duty for all comrades at this plenum also, and especially for the entire apparatus of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Agriculture, and every district and agricultural economy.

Just as hitherto, improved support through direct state contribution in the form of basic investments in the zone which is being given priority in intensification, and in higher-type cooperatives outside this zone, will also help agricultural and livestock production to rise faster, especially in the country's most fertile lowlands. Starting in 1989, the state will also participate in the creation of current account funds. This will create conditions to enable these cooperatives to meet better and more punctually the needs of expanded reproduction and will strengthen their financial positions. There is a duty to use these funds for specific purposes, devoting them principally to developing stockraising and fruit-growing, and coordinating the financial side better with the necessary material base.

Implementing the measures that are being taken in improving production relations, and the additional investment and material and technical base that is being given to agriculture, will exert a major influence on increasing production. But the fundamental factor in achieving the objectives of higher agricultural production set by the party remains the more rational and effective use of existing investments and the material and technical base, which is many times larger than the supplement we are adding to it at this plenum. It is a fact that the agricultural cooperatives, and the agricultural enterprises as well, develop and progress relying primarily on their own resources and on the general support of society. An average of 1.3 billion leks are invested in agriculture each year, out of 4.5 billion leks that represent the total volume of investment by the state and agricultural cooperatives in the country's economic and cultural development. These investments make possible the extension of land under cultivation, its management and drainage, the expansion of land under irrigation, breeding improvements in livestock and seeds, and additions to the stock of agricultural machinery and the rest of the material and technical base, thus playing a major part in increasing agricultural production and improving its effectiveness.

The decisive effect of irrigation in increasing agricultural production and the major investments that have been and are being made for this purpose are common knowledge. However, as Comrade Ramiz also stressed in Sarande District, these investments are not yielding their proper return because of the inadequate measures taken in water use. Under these conditions, alongside the measures that must be taken to complete new irrigation systems on time and to use existing reserves more sensibly, it is beneficial to aim new investments, first of all, at supplementing existing systems with channels and equipment.

Large investments have also been made in the horticultural sector, but they are still not justifying themselves, because large plantations have not yet entered production, while yields are low. This is a result of insufficient work in this important sector. The main task is to intensify work in the existing plantations, to ensure that the state and economic organs better support the youth actions, and to effect supplementary investments, particularly with regard to irrigation, the planting of new trees, a better coordination of the horticultural and livestock sector, and so forth.

Problems of this nature with regard to the efficiency of investments and the material and technical base exist also in other branches, such as the livestock sector, investments for the reclamation and protection of the soil, in the use of machinery and draught animals, and so forth, and these must be the object of daily efforts by the agricultural cadres and organs, and particularly economists and financial experts.

Bearing in mind the great tasks confronting agriculture with regard to feeding the people, the development of the economy, and in increasing exports and reserves, it is urgently necessary to raise the level of organization and to consolidate management in all agricultural economies and units. The intention is not only to ensure that the production plans are fulfilled and that costs are covered by revenues, but also to increase accumulation for the needs of extended reproduction in the agricultural economies themselves, and to ensure the general development of the economy and of society as a whole.

The consolidation of economic management, accountability, and control is of primary importance in order to activate and use potential reserves in agricultural production to an increasingly higher extent. Despite the achievements, the economic efficiency of investments and production expenditure is under the level of real possibilities and, sometimes, it has even dropped. Expenditure for every 100 leks of income has a tendency to rise and some agricultural cooperatives fail to cover their costs, while a number of agricultural enterprises are making huge losses. Meanwhile, the zone scheduled for intensification is currently providing 20 percent of the agricultural production although it covers 14 percent of the total acreage of arable land and enjoys favorable climatic and soil conditions.

All this requires that the various human, technical, material, organizational, and natural factors conditioning agricultural production should be utilized more scientifically, in a better harmonized way, and more efficiently. The possibilities of achieving this exist, because we have a sufficient number of cadres and specialists who are capable of resolving the problems in the further development of agriculture.

The fulfillment of the great tasks confronting us with regard to a more rapid development of agricultural and livestock production and of the targets set out in the decision that we are adopting here, make it imperative that agricultural should be given priority support by all other branches of the economy. The party's instruction that "Agriculture is a matter concerning all the people," must not be understood and implemented as a mere general slogan, but as an important directive pertaining to the further development of our socialist system.

It is a fact that all the other branches of the economy have provided support for the development of agriculture, particularly with machinery and chemical fertilizers, by absorbing and processing agricultural and livestock products, as well as with large number of specialists. All this has resulted in further increasing agricultural and livestock production.

However, as Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, we must be conscious of the fact that during this period the agricultural sector has been meeting not only the growing needs of the population and of industry with agricultural and livestock products, but has also accounted for 30 percent of all state investments. The obligations of the other branches of the economy to agriculture are, therefore, not a matter of desire or facultative, but an urgent and vital obligation to this vital sector of the economy. The interaction of manpower and equipment will result in an increase of agricultural production and of social accumulation for the development of the economy as a whole. The party organizations and the state and economic organs must therefore intensify their efforts to better understand and to achieve this interaction, in order to better support agriculture.

Departmental, sectional, and irresponsible attitudes toward agriculture have had a negative effect on its development. Over 28,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were not provided to agriculture last year, while its supply with pesticides was only 71 percent of the plan. There have been deficits and unsteady supplies of machinery and spare parts, particularly by the Korce, Durres, Fier, and some other agricultural machinery plants. The automobile and tractor combine has met only 70 percent of its obligations to agriculture, particularly for subjective reasons, but also because of failures in securing raw materials for the production of spare parts, machinery, and other equipment. The engineering industry is confronted with the task of adopting more efficient and stable measures with regard to both the quantity and the quality and longevity of spare parts, as well as with regard to increasing the range of agricultural machinery as a whole, and particularly for the northeastern regions, where a number of problems are still to be resolved.

Supplies of fuel, lubricants, plastic sheets, and plastic tubes have also not been delivered in full and on time to agriculture, not to mention other supply failures by the foreign trade and other sectors of the economy. The tasks confronting agriculture require without fail a further and more rapid consolidation of the role of industry in raising the level of agricultural mechanization, in the maintenance and regeneration of the tractor and machinery pool, in increasing the production of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and in supplying fuel on time. In conformity with the instruction of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers has recently adopted a number of measures to fulfill the needs of agriculture better and on time, not only in accordance with the existing plans, but also with additional supplies of fuel, lubricants, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, plastic sheeting, spare parts for tractors, and so forth. However, this must be a constant task and preoccupation.

The food industry, collecting, and trade organs must adopt measures to absorb and process agricultural products on time, further extending the network of collecting centers and processing capabilities, bringing them nearer to the sources of raw materials, in order to ensure the absorption and processing of agricultural and livestock products throughout the year, including the product of the family plots. The same applies to the establishment of smaller collecting and processing centers in the agricultural economies themselves, in accordance with Comrade Ramiz' instruction. This will raise the value of agricultural and livestock products, reduce production costs, and increase the income of cooperatives and agricultural enterprises.

There is also room for further improvement in the relations between industry and agriculture in the field of a more realistic assessment of both the quantity and, particularly, the quality of agricultural products. It is not right that some processing enterprises should end the year with "profits" secured from an unrealistic assessment of the value of products delivered by cooperatives. The Durres tobacco fermentation plant alone secured an additional income of 1 million leks last year. The same has happened in the fodder processing plants, which have had a supplementary net income of 1.2 million leks, or five-fold more than planned. An end must be put to such actions, because they are unjust and have a negative influence on the incomes of the peasantry and on its interest in raising production.

The contribution of science and advanced experience, the introduction of their achievements on a larger scale and more rapidly, also constitute a reserve and directly influence the development of agriculture. The scientific and research institutions must better support agricultural and livestock production with contemporary technology, selected seeds, and so forth, in conformity with the climatic and pedological conditions of the country and of every district. They must expand their activity, must improve the quality and efficiency of their work, and must take upon themselves greater tasks in resolving problems related to increasing the yields of corn, industrial crops, vegetables, forage crops, and so forth. The main direction of their work from 1989 onward must be to provide more qualified assistance for the fulfillment of tasks by agricultural cooperatives and state enterprises. Together with the specialists at the base, they must be closer to the production units and exert greater influence in resolving whatever problems may arise. As far as the Ministry of Agriculture, which directs these institutions, is concerned, the main indicator in assessing their work is to be the fulfillment of agricultural and livestock plans and increased production. This applies also to the scientific and research institutes themselves.

Advanced experience is a particularly important reserve in agriculture. If it is generalized and disseminated rapidly, it can exert a powerful influence in narrowing the obvious gaps in agricultural production between districts and agricultural units with approximately similar conditions. Even under last year's conditions, those districts and economies in which the work was better organized and greater mobilization was achieved, the difficulties were overcome more easily and the negative effect of the weather was less. Last year, agricultural production did in fact increase in 14 districts, compared with 1987, whereas production in 12 other districts decreased between 6-12 percent, particularly in the districts of Lushnje, Fier, Sarande, Durres, Vlore, and so forth. The fact that agricultural production was higher and more stable in the districts of Elbasan, Gjirokaster, and Permet, compared with other districts, and particularly with regard to certain crops, was due solely to the work and mobilization of the people and to better organizational measures.

There are still manifestations of formalism, rigidity, and procrastination in the matter of disseminating advanced experience, and this has a negative effect on production. The dissemination of advanced experience cannot be achieved solely through a few seminars or aktivs at national or district level. Its implementation must take place in conformity with concrete conditions in the various districts and agricultural economies, as well as through a broader and more efficient use of moral and material incentives for advanced workers and collectives.

The mass organizations have special tasks in the development of agriculture. The Central Council of Trade Unions, together with the district organizations, should intensify their assistance and demands for accountability in order to place the workers in the state agricultural enterprises in a vanguard role, as well as to promote production. The trade unions organizations of the motor and tractor stations should also work in this direction, together with those in the land reclamation enterprises, the seed production and selection enterprises, and the scientific and research institutions, whose support for the agricultural sector must be greater and more concrete. A large number of workers in industry, construction, and other sector of the economy live in the countryside, or have close links with it. Their interest in the welfare of the agricultural sector, by helping through their organizational force and class consciousness, must also be increased. Without denying the value of the mass actions organized by the workers class, the need for a better organization of these actions is felt, because formalism and sometimes misuse of the large force of the workers class in assisting the countryside still exist. The assistance of the workers class for the countryside must be better tied up with concrete results in increased agricultural production and in fulfilling the obligations of the workers class to agriculture.

The mass actions carried out by the youth organizations in the olive groves, and more recently in other plantations, are praiseworthy. Nevertheless, there is room for an even greater appreciation of the youth, as a vital and highly productive force. Young people possess the necessary educational and cultural education and have been trained to love the great cause of the people and socialism.

This meeting of the AWP Central Committee on agriculture and the decisions to be adopted will serve to further raise the management and organization of the work, the mobilization and spirit of action by the agricultural workers and those in other sectors of the economy, in order to overcome the difficulties created by the nonfulfillment of tasks and by the climatic conditions, and will undoubtedly achieve the turning point required for a rapid increase in agricultural production. The decisions of the plenum should primarily stimulate the fulfillment of the tasks in the agricultural sector. The readiness of the tractor pool must be raised to a higher level and the plowing of fields be accelerated, which improves chances for higher yields. The effects of the lag in plowing 40,000 hectares of wheat and the effects of the current drop in temperatures should be overcome by intensive cultivation, forgetting complaints, and overcoming the passive attitude of some cadres and specialists. All the seed for the spring crops should be secured on time and in the required quantity and quality.

The entire acreage devoted to corn must be cultivated intensively, using those fields that have guaranteed irrigation facilities, securing the necessary quantities of organic fertilizer to ensure getting the planned yields. Special actions must be organized in all districts to ensure the reclamation of new land, because there are unjustified lags in this respect.

Previous experience and the current situation require that irrigation projects be completed according to schedules, that all water reserves be utilized in full, and that the pumping stations should intensify their efforts. The Ministry of Agriculture and the districts of Elbasan, Lushnje, Durres, and Fier should adopt all the measures needed to reconstruct their irrigation networks in order to cope with the water that will be secured in the current year from the Banje project, thus improving irrigation on 22,000 hectares of land.

The livestock sector is currently entering its most critical period and requires priority attention to ensure the successful completion of the lambing season and the sound growth of the baby lambs, as well as to increase the milk yields of cows, which is currently at a low level and even lower than in the previous year. Special measures must be adopted by the cattle fodder processing centers and to achieve the required turning point in increasing forage yields by intensive cultivation.

The basic party organs and organizations should intensify their efforts with the communists and the masses in working out the decisions of this plenum. They should better mobilize the communists, cadres, and agricultural specialists in order to make them better aware of the importance of fulfilling the 1989 tasks. Accountability must be strengthened to ensure that other sectors of the economy also meet their obligations to the agricultural sector.

Comrades,

The 1989 tasks are considerable throughout the economy. Their fulfillment and overfulfillment is of particular importance this year, when we expect to celebrate the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation with as many successes as possible and a further elevation of the well being of the people. This, on the one hand, and the fact that this year's plan in agriculture and in other branches of the economy is more realistic, based on sound arguments, and supported better than ever before by adequate state measures and the necessary material base, creates the possibility, by intensifying the work of the party organizations and organs, as well as the economic and state organs, to transform 1989 in a year of great popular action for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the planned tasks in agriculture, industry, construction, transportation, in supplying the population, in exports, imports, and so forth.

The key to this lies in the intensification of the political and educational work with the masses, in keeping their mobilization and revolutionary optimism always high, in improving the organization of our work, in tightening discipline, in raising everyone's sense of responsibility, in the maturity and agility of the work of cadres, and in the militancy of every communist. The Politburo is convinced that these qualities will be reflected more strongly than ever before in the activity of all the party organizations and organs in 1989.

Atanasov Receives Libyan Central Bank Official

AU0902200889 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received today Mr Mohamed al-Zaruk Radjab [spelling of name as received], manager of the Libyan Central Bank. They considered issues of mutual interest connected with the further expansion and deepening of cooperation between the two countries and the role of banks in this relation. Mr Vasil Kolarov, president of the Bulgarian National Bank took part in the meeting.

Balev Receives Foreign Delegations for Talks

Meets CPSU Delegation

AU0902172489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] On 9 February Comrade Milko Balev received a delegation of the CPSU Central Committee led by Yuriy Zuyev, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department. The delegation took part in the meeting of deputy heads of the international departments of the central committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties.

Milko Balev briefed the guests on the implementation of the tasks of the BCP Central Committee December 1988 Plenum on putting into effect the June Concept on further constructing socialism in Bulgaria.

Greets Cuba's Polanco

AU0902204989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] On 9 February Comrade Milko Balev received Rafael Polanco, first deputy head of the International Department of the Communist Party of Cuba. They exchanged information on the topical tasks resolved by the two parties at the present stage and discussed some issues related to the world situation. They also discussed the important role of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Communist Party of Cuba in constantly strengthening and expanding comprehensive Bulgarian-Cuban relations.

Dzhurov Greets Cambodian Defense Minister

BK1002072589 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 2300 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] On the 10th anniversary of the 7 January National Day, Comrade General Tie Banh, PRK defense minister, received congratulations and greetings from Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, defense minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The message says in essence:

On behalf of the Bulgarian Army combatants and in my own name, I would like to send you warmest congratulations. In the past 10 years, under the KPRP's leadership and in combination with support of socialist countries, the heroic Cambodian people have braved and overcome many difficulties and scored victories in every field in their life. On the day celebrating this solemn founding anniversary, we wish the fraternal Cambodian people great victories as stipulated in the resolutions of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party's Fifth Congress and success in implementing the national reconciliation policy and in solving the problem politically in the lofty interest of the revived Cambodian people.

May you score new successes in your noble task.

Semerdzhiev Greets Cambodian Counterpart

BK1002082389 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 2300 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Comrade Lieutenant General Pol Saroeun, deputy defense minister and chief of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Armed Forces General Staff, recently received a congratulatory message from Comrade General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy defense minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army. The message says in essence:

Through successive changes, reforms, restoration of socialism, and internal policies in the past year, the prestige of states in our community has been remarkably heightened. The fighting capability and the readiness of the people's armed forces of our two countries have been heightened with the assistance of fraternal communist parties and workers to firmly defend socialism and peace.

I wish you new successes in your responsible task.

*2 Dissidents Expelled; Hunger Strikes Continue

29000017 Paris LE MONDE in French 5-6 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Bulgaria: Expulsion of Human Rights Activists"]

[Text] A dissident source in Vienna reported on 3 February that Bulgarian authorities had asked a married couple, members of the Independent Association for Human Rights, to leave the country along with their two children. Mrs Seyneb Yususenov [name as given], a member of the dissident movement's leadership, and her husband, Yosuf, who belongs to the country's ethnic Turkish minority, were given 24 hours to depart. The association's chairman, Ilya Minev, and its secretary, Petur Manolov, and his wife continued the hunger strike they had begun in mid-January. (AFP)

Readers Letters on Dissidents Published

AU1002082389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Feb 89 p 3

[Letters by Captain Zhelayzko Shtirkov, Major Atanas Andonov, and Lieutenant Colonel Georgi Popov in response to a RABOTNICHESKO DELO 7 February editorial article: "Who Is Struggling for Human Rights in Bulgaria, and How?"]

[Text] "The Word of a Soldier": I will tell you frankly that the precise facts published in the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial article on 7 February unmasks the liars. One cannot remain indifferent after reading this article. I think that the changes in our domestic political life, which the people are implementing under the party's leadership, are evident to our friends as well as to those who do not wish us well. Liberation of thought, opportunities to develop oneself granted to all citizens, as well as the creative atmosphere established in discussing the most important social problems and glasnost are great achievements of socialism, but we must learn how to develop and use them in our own interests, how to use them to our benefit. This is because there are unscrupulous people who, by expressing "concern" about democracy in our country are slandering our social system and insulting our country, and are trying to violate all those moral values which every Bulgarian cherishes in his heart. The life histories, actions, and moral behavior of the named "human rights champions" in question present a convincing confirmation of these thoughts.

Even the most unprejudiced reader cannot fail to understand that the actions of Petur Manolov, Iliya Minev, and the whole "gang" are in contradiction with the Bulgarian Constitution and with our laws. Everyone with any common sense takes this stand. Every honest citizen is bound to condemn such people. This is our, namely a soldiers, verdict.

Signed: Captain Zhelyazko Shtirkov

"Who Is Protecting Whom?": I read the article: "Who Is Struggling For Human Rights and How?" in RABOTNICHESKO DELO. Based on it, it seems that the increasingly expanding glasnost and democracy in the socialist countries have greatly intensified their political activities.

Against this background, however, the aspirations of the "human rights champions" in our country represent a drastic contrast. These aspirations are expressed in the movement's program, portions of which were published. This program does not leave any room for dialogue, for an exchange of opinions, for proposals, and for suggestions as to how to overcome shortcomings and errors that were allowed to occur. Destructive functions are being idolized and nothing constructive is being proposed which is likely to support our society.

What do these "fighters" propose to do with our country? What is this "black-list" of people they are talking about, what is this "cemetery" in the center of Sofia they mention? What kind of human rights protection do they mean, since they cannot even guarantee people's lives?

Who should be protected against whom in this case?

I think that the state should protect its citizens against such attacks, against people who declare themselves against the assets built up by our entire people over more than 40 years. There is only one truth for all. Sooner or later, everything will fall into place. The processes of democratization and glasnost in our country, however, should not be identified with irresponsibility.

Signed: Major Atanas Andonov

"People Without Ideals": I read the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial article with interest. I was particularly amazed by the fact that a "society" has been established in our country with the self-appointed "lofty and humanitarian goal" of protecting citizens and human rights, including my own rights, which no one has ever violated. As a matter of fact, no special political education is required to understand that this is an unlawful, antisocialist and anti-people's group which, hiding behind slogans of "freedom," "democracy", and "glasnost," has actually adopted a specific goal, namely to destroy the foundations of socialism in Bulgaria by fully ignoring our Constitution, laws, and the legal system in our country.

I ask myself: Who needs this "independent society" and whom does it serve? I asked myself this question and found a logical answer. The only people who need such a society are those who are not pleased by our nation's successes during the years of the people's government. It will be welcomed by those who for 45 years have been trying to bury socialism in our country.

It is true that democracy and glasnost are expanding in our country today. However, I personally believe that such anti-democratic and pro-fascist gangs should not be tolerated. These are people who have no ideals, who are alien to patriotism and internationalism.

At the same time I am pleased that the press has submitted this report for our readers' attention. The "political platform" of these "noble champions" convincingly reveals their true faces.

Signed: Lieutenant Colonel Georgi Popov

Honors Awarded to Dimitur Stoyanov on Birthday

AU0902205189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has awarded Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov with the "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" title, the Golden Star, and the Georgi Dimitrov Order on his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and the construction of socialism, and in connection with his 60th birthday.

Economic Cooperation Delegation Visits Cuba

For Cuban media accounts of the 20th Cuban-Bulgarian intergovernmental commission meeting for economic and scientific-technical cooperation in Havana, attended by a delegation headed by Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, see the Cuba section of the 8 February Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Paper Cited on 'Terrorist' Threats, Letters

*LD1002085289 Prague CTK in English
0729 GMT 10 Feb 89*

[Text] Prague Feb 10 (CTK)—"There is only one road in our country—socialist—which is wide enough for all who want to constructively participate in all spheres of social life. Threats and terror must not have and will not have scope in our socialist democracy", RUDE PRAVO said today.

In connection with claims of U.S. stations that various illegal groups must be taken seriously, the daily said: "Yes, there is no doubt about it now. Everybody who, hiding himself behind attractive slogans, incites hysteria, chaos, disruption, nervousness and fear must be taken seriously. Also 80 anonymous telephone threats and letters of terrorist character reported on the territory of our Republic from January 10 to February 9, 1989 must be taken seriously. Wednesday's [8 January] explosion of a bomb in the centre of the regional town of Usti nad Labem must be taken very seriously", the paper stressed.

"Is this the 'dialogue' so much proclaimed by Western transmitters, for instance Radio Free Europe, which on February 3 even gave directions concerning which actions should be taken against state bodies. Or thus 'the forces of national self-preservation started to awake' as we were informed from the same source on February 5?", it asked.

Jakes Addresses Media on Role in Restructuring

*LD0902210789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 9 Feb 89*

["Excerpt" from speech by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to a meeting of senior officials of the mass media on 9 February at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College in Prague—recorded]

[Text] The importance of 1989, at the beginning of which we are meeting, is emphasized above all by the fact that it is another year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in which it is vital to develop efforts for the best possible fulfillment of the tasks set out in the socioeconomic sphere and to secure the internal and external economic stability of our country. Together with this the important thing is to make progress in restructuring the economic mechanism so that it can be comprehensively implemented in the national economy starting January 1990. In the agricultural and food complex and catering, work has been under way according to these principles since 1 January.

We must also make further progress in deepening socialist democracy as the basis of a comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of the life of society, in perfecting the political system, in public information, and in the development of an open policy. The significance of this year is also underlined by the fact that it is a year of very concrete and intensive preparation for the 18th party congress, a congress that will demand both extensive theoretical and political-organizational work within the party. In the fall there are annual members' meetings and then party conferences. It will be a case of preparing important congress documents, and naturally above all a case of including the whole of society in precongress discussions and developing extensive work activity and the initiative of the people.

Generally, it can be said here that these meetings, the conclusions of which were supported [as heard] by the Central Committee Presidium and the Secretariat by organizational measures so that these tasks are fulfilled and further made concrete, in their entirety represent the fundamental concept of economic and social restructuring under our conditions. It is at the same time natural that the progress of restructuring in various spheres of society will continue to be made more specific and concrete within the highest party, state, and representative organs. Our position is absolutely clear. Having as the point of departure the responsibility for developing socialism in our country and for the need for our active contribution to the international questions of the development of socialism, we have goals similar to those of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries. We are realizing them, and it cannot be otherwise, with regard to our concrete conditions, making use of the experiences of our friends, particularly the CPSU. We continue restructuring as the inevitable prerequisite for the further upward development of our socialist society, corresponding to the new stage, as a prerequisite for strengthening the positions of socialism and its prestige in the international arena.

The results of the party Central Committee sessions, the resolutions adopted, including cadre changes, have met with a positive reaction and support, not only among the majority of party members but also among the absolute majority of citizens and organizations of the National Front. They were supported at congresses of social organizations, at conferences, at the sessions of the Central Committees of the National Front, social organizations, and political parties. Particularly significant was the discussion of the all-trade union conference on the conclusions of these plenums. In practice, however, we have still not entirely succeeded in converting verbal support into concrete actions. So with regard to material changes, restructuring has not brought what the people expected, because it is not possible to ensure changes so quickly.

This is a basic weakness. This is on what we must concentrate decisive attention and effort. For this it is necessary—and this is an important task for the media—to make available not only a critical view of the given facts but also positive experiences that deserve to be emulated. The process of restructuring cannot be simplified. Sadly, we often see this. It cannot be simplified because it is a very difficult change. In many cases and for many people it is even a painful one. In a number of directions, as it emerges from the resolutions adopted, it is necessary to push through fundamentally new views and approaches to key questions, including the very understanding of socialism and its true values. There are new views on socioeconomic development, the process of democratization, and the solving of international political questions.

As I said, not everything can be predesignated in all its consequences. Conditions change, new complications come into being. It is also necessary to take into account risks that are not small, the possibilities of mistakes, and therefore also the need for certain corrections of approach in a way that is demonstrated by life and concrete practice. In short, detailed ready recipes do not exist. This must not make us nervous, however. Instead, it is a natural, responsible process of seeking, and a process of testing what is good, and how to proceed further.

The complicated nature of the present period is multiplied by the fact that we must also solve, and we cannot keep silent about this, many long-term problems and difficulties that have accumulated. Many try to create a situation and view as if these difficulties fell from the sky, as if they came into existence precisely now, as if their roots and their overall development were not a long-term affair. Difficulties and problems necessarily give rise to criticism and sometimes even discontent among the people. We must see, however, that this is criticism not of socialism but rather criticism of the shortcomings that people come across. This can concern the internal market, services, lagging behind in scientific-technical development, breakdowns in production and in supplier-customer relations, various beurocratic habits, as well as negative phenomena in our society.

We are restructuring to overcome problems so that a new quality in the functioning of all spheres of societal life is achieved, which better satisfies the needs of the people. This cannot be achieved in a year. It is vital to avoid spreading illusions that suggest it will be possible to do so so quickly. It requires honesty, tenacious work, perseverence, selflessness, and the active participation of all. It is therefore not possible in this to assume the position of an observer or of a one-sided critic. It requires drawing the widest possible masses of citizens into the realization of restructuring, and this demands that we gain their trust. And today's tasks demand above all energetic, practical acts in all areas, businesslike solutions to problems, and truthful replies to the individual questions of the life of society and shortcomings in society. Restructuring must lead to the stirring up of stagnant waters, to an irreconcilable fight with self-indulgence and mediocrity, with parasitism and social demagoguery, of which there is also more than a little.

All this will naturally affect a number of people who will not be in favor of change. In the interest of putting social justice into force and pushing through the policy of restructuring, however, there is no other way. All honest people who can and want to contribute to restructuring and economic development will surely understand and support this. A serious question of the present period is also the activeness of antisocialist forces and various groups. They have wide support and help from the West. Radio stations such as Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America play a direct part in this organizing. A new phenomenon in the activity of antisocialist forces is the transition from hidden activities to attempts at open confrontation, including undertaking the psychology of pressure, scare tactics, and even using psychological terror against people who stand for socialism and who dare to express themselves publicly.

It is no accident that the January provocations coincided with the signing of the closing document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. They became an opportunity for unleashing a new campaign against Czechoslovakia, the party, and socialism by some political circles of Western countries, even though realistic attitudes do exist among them. The internal opposition forces in our country in their demands refer to the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

Our stand is unequivocal: We signed the closing document, we took an active part in its drafting, and we will honor it. In connection with the Helsinki Final Act, however, we cannot tolerate attempts to disrupt the fundamental basis of the Helsinki meeting—the sovereignty of our socialist state—carried out by some Western circles and media.

The public reaction to the actions of antisocialist forces were also discussed at the conference of leading regional secretaries. It emerged unequivocally from this conference that people want order. They want conditions for calm, purposeful work. They wish to act in the spirit of the line that was announced—that is, restructuring and democratization. Our position is therefore clear. We will not allow ourselves to be diverted from restructuring and democratization. First, as I have already emphasized, it is necessary to make use of all possibilities for a more marked solution to problems, which, next to objective circumstances, have a number of subjective causes and which the enemy forces are trying to exploit. This concerns above all our economy, stabilizing markets and implementing economic reform, and consistently implementing those decisions that we adopted.

At the same time, it is necessary to conduct an offensive and broad political dialogue with all those who stand on the platform of socialism, except for clear enemies.

A political approach, of course, does not mean tolerating illegal acts, the violation of public order, threatening the security of honest people, nor harassing and terrorizing people under the veil of democratization and democracy. The mass media, the press, radio, and television, therefore, must perceive their place against the background of overall internal and international developments. I want to pay tribute to the media's work so far; we value it, but we cannot fall prey here either to complacency. There are considerable reserves; there is much to be improved. The times call for more and more improvement. As in all sectors of social life, the decisive thing in the work of journalists and of radio and television personnel is competence, the power of persuasion, and the credibility of their news product as well as promptness and high political and civic responsibility in informing the broad public, in explaining attitudes and views of what is happening in our country and around the world.

It is a fundamental requirement today to deepen the media's creative and constructive organizational work and to help to offensively unite the people, and assist the constructive positive program of restructuring and democratization to fulfill the tasks on which its successful implementation primarily depends. It is a program that we began to carry out under the inspirational influence of the revolutionary line of the CPSU. On the party's initiative, the mass media must intelligibly explain the objectives of the revolutionary transformations that we are carrying out in the economy and in the life of society. They must—and I stress this—strengthen the people's confidence in the policy of the party, the National Front, and the socialist state.

It is an important requirement to seek out and publicize positive examples, to constructively organize the exchange of experience, to face up to skepticism and indifference, and to point out real ways of solving problems and the priorities on which the creative forces of the working people need to be focused. This does not mean, of course, losing or restraining a critical view of shortcomings. We are in favor of the broad development of criticism, but we mean the kind of criticism that is an organic part of seeking the most effective solutions, that does not oversimplify matters and does not look at them from a single point of view, but which, on the contrary, seeks to ascertain their essence, causes, and connections, which builds on the accuracy and credibility of facts and on a profound understanding of the issue.

The mass media have an important role to play in the context of the preparations for the 18th party congress. Encouraging a creative and offensive atmosphere in society depends to a large extent on their activity. The media will have particularly responsible tasks to fulfill concerning organizing general public discussion, discussion about the party program or its principles, discussion—as far as the party is concerned—of the party statutes, of the Constitution, of the prospects for socioeconomic development for the next 5-year period, and perhaps of other issues. We have to expect this and prepare ourselves thoroughly for it. The point is that our media should help to apply in practice the socialist pluralism of views and a broad dialogue in society. All discussion, argument, and dialogue, however, must show political refinement and respect for the irreversibility of socialist development in our country.

I would like to conclude this by pointing out that we are living in a time when there is a great deal at stake: the destiny of socialism, how our country will continue to progress, and ensuring that socialism displays the full breadth of its undoubted advantages and historical perspectives; both internally and internationally there is an enormous, complicated but revolutionary struggle to be waged. I would, therefore, like to voice the conviction that we will jointly succeed in mastering the problems we face and in carrying out the process of restructuring and democratizing our society in the correct socialist direction to the end, in the interest of strengthening and further developing socialism.

Jan Fojtik Returns From GDR Working Visit

LD0302231389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, returned to Prague today from his working visit to the GDR.

In Berlin he discussed current developments in the two countries and topical international questions with Erich Honecker and other officials.

Editorial Views Warsaw Pact Disarmament Policy

AU0102172389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Disarmament According to the Principle of Mutual Security"—passages between slantlines published in widespace print]

[Text] For years information on military strength and figures on arms and technology have been a problem in the European conventional disarmament talks. On the one hand, the knowledge that conventional disarmament is one of the primary issues that we must start solving without any procrastination, in the interest of mankind's peaceful future, has been increasingly strengthening and pushing its way forward in long-lasting negotiations. On the other hand, the brake is still on—how can we start the disarmament process if we are incapable of coming to an agreement on the precise strength of the armed forces that each side actually has at its disposal?

The result of the Vienna meeting is an expression of a specific political decision in the set of disarmament problems, which the socialist states rallied in the Warsaw Pact have always considered to be basic. In fact, now that a political agreement has been arrived at it is high time to finally transfer disarmament issues into the sphere of political practices and the so-highly desired deeds.

The Warsaw Pact declaration published today by RUDE PRAVO is in particular the key to settling the "data dispute" and releasing the brake that is so often abused for underhanded political intentions. We have just delivered to the NATO members states and to the entire world public what is, let us stress, /an official document/—the first of its kind, and one of a unique nature.

Let us recall that the NATO member states have so far issued no such /official document/ on the correlation of forces in Europe, with figures for their armies and armaments.

It is appropriate to mention at once all the various "estimates" that are so extensively circulated in the West. From time to time, the West has published data on the correlation of military forces in Europe; coming from various sources, institutions, and organizations, some data were serious, some intentionally distorted, and some fabricated from start to finish. In this way, the West acquired a certain propaganda advantage. Understandably, this introduced confusion and doubts into public opinion which, as could be witnessed, has lately greatly escalated its support for the cause of disarmament and which has loudly proclaimed its desire for a world free of arms. The Warsaw Pact declaration has now changed the situation, and this is a good thing.

The main thing is to establish a constructive, businesslike atmosphere for disarmament negotiations, which have already received a mandate in Vienna and which will open on 6 March. The two negotiating military-political groupings should exchange documents that should set down in detail their stands on the mutual correlation of armed forces (in fact, the Warsaw Pact has already done so). This will establish a foundation, and provide a kind of picture, which will make it possible to start talks and give the experts the necessary background material. The Warsaw Pact's notion on how the disarmament negotiations could proceed has been worked out into a number of peace initiatives and plans. Let us recall, above all, the 1986 Budapest session of our defensive organization, where the plan for conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals was born. Our own contribution to developing the disarmament process has been amplified, and it has become increasingly convincing and effective. It is a conclusive contribution, and a number of responsible politicians in the West have not only acknowledged this, but have also expressed their appreciation for it.

We judge that it is possible to start by eliminating the inequalities—briefly, by eliminating all the asymmetries with regard to individual types of arms, asymmetries which are so frequently mentioned in various contexts. After that, after a certain level is achieved, one should start reducing troops and arms to a lower and still lower level, so that any possibility of an unexpected attack would evaporate and the armed forces of both sides would unambiguously and finally attain a defensive character.

The asymmetries do exist, and they are truly a problem, a complicated and intricate problem that deserves extraordinary attention—if for no other reason than the fact that it represents the task of the first stage of conventional disarmament, i.e. the important stage, which establishes the prerequisites for further progress. After all, a look at the tables published in this issue shows a great deal.

The asymmetries emerged historically, over long periods of time, for various reasons and due to various causes. Let us mention at least the main ones:

—The geographical locations of the NATO and Warsaw Pact member states. The Warsaw Pact armies are distinctly landlocked. We have only bits of coastline, and we can reach the world's oceans solely via narrow channels. The NATO countries are in a completely different situation, for some of them are outstanding naval superpowers.

—The military doctrines were shaped differently. The Warsaw Pact considered tank troops, artillery, and land-weapon systems to be the main backbone of its defense. NATO placed extraordinary emphasis on air forces, and it linked its military doctrine to the utilization of a large naval force which included the arms systems, aircraft, and missiles deployed on vessels.

—The rapid development of science and technology in the West was also strikingly manifested in the rapid improvement and modernization of NATO armies. New and the latest highly effective and destructive conventional weapons systems appeared, and still appear, in their armament. It is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that the arms systems of the two military groupings have different combat coefficients. Here quantity and quality form a particularly complicated and sensitive equilibrium.

But the tangled knot of asymmetries can be untangled. The Warsaw Pact is offering a realistic and acceptable principle for this: a reduction to the level of the side with less weapons of a certain kind, instead of an increase to the level of the side with more weapons of a certain kind. This would reinforce the balance, and do so at a lower level, with fewer weapons and soldiers. On the whole, this alone would represent striking progress on the road of disarmament.

It is also worth considering an idea that even has its advocates in the West: that it would be suitable to come to an agreement on certain armament limits, and to set kinds of "ceilings" that would be strictly checked and verified, including the use of on-the-spot inspections.

As for a control mechanism, whose perfection guarantees security, let us remark that the socialist states are promoting the idea of an all-around verification of disarmament measures, including—as we have already said—on-the-spot inspections, with the provision that nobody should be permitted to refuse to submit to a requested inspection.

Even before the Warsaw Pact declaration was published, the socialist states had adopted unilateral disarmament measures. We in Czechoslovakia have done the same. Together with our allies, we want to affirm our goodwill and willingness by means of a gesture which has a considerable political and military impact. Disarmament is a primary issue in our foreign policy. We are setting, we want to set, an example; we want to prove that the path toward disarmament can be negotiated. However, the logic of the matter is such that disarmament cannot be arrived at by following the principle of unilateral measures—it can be arrived at solely by adhering to the principle of mutuality, i.e. joint action. The driving force in the disarmament process is the categorical imperative that all governments in Europe must recognize, and which says that every state has the right to equal security.

We have come up with a sincere, honest offer—and not for the first time, either. We have laid a document on the negotiating table which states our stand on the correlation of armed forces in Europe.

We have done so with the hope and aim of gradually reducing the figures contained in the tables, year after year. To disarm means to eliminate weapons, to cut down on the number of soldiers, to transfer mankind's material and intellectual resources—which, in our view, are being senselessly squandered and wasted—into civilian production, into those spheres of human activity which serve to meet man's needs, which help his personality to prosper and flourish. Such is our philosophy of disarmament.

Leaving Republic Now Misdemeanor, Not Crime

AU0302154789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Feb 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Deliberations of Federal Assembly Committees; Deputies Speak on Amendments to Certain Legal Regulations and Drafts of New Laws"]

[Excerpt] Prague—A 2-day joint session of the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers of Nations and of People began in Prague on Tuesday [31 January]. The committee members were briefed on the CSSR Government's legislative program for this year and on its plans for the next period.

In replying to deputies' questions about housing problems, CSSR Government Minister Marian Calfa stated, for instance, that the political-legal principles for adjustments to housing are being prepared, and that the amendment of certain legal regulations is being considered—for instance, of the law on housing economy, the civic law code, and civic court regulations.

The penal code amendment takes into account the fact that transgressions which can handled at the level of national committees will be changed to misdemeanor status. For instance, leaving the Republic, which is currently considered a criminal offense, will become a misdemeanor. However, attempts to cross the border by using force will still be criminally prosecuted. [passage omitted]

Guards Reportedly Carry High-Velocity Bullets

LD1002115589 Hamburg DPA in German 1835 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, (DPA)—According to the Ministry of inner-German relations GDR border guards have been equipped with a new type of ammunition. These are high-velocity bullets which rotate and thereby cause particularly bad wounds, Parliamentary State Secretary Ottfried Hennig (CDU) told "DIE WELT" (Friday edition).

Spokesman Denies Claim

LD1002120189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1109 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With regard to the assertion by Hennig, state secretary in the so-called FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations, that GDR border soldiers have recently been equipped with especially dangerous high-velocity bullets, the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, notes:

The statement by the representative of the Ministry for Inner-German relations is pure invention. This announcement on new ammunition for the GDR border personnel can only be characterized as fabrication and deception.

Clearly the sole task of this ministry consists in spreading lies about the GDR. Only a few days ago it concocted "shots at the border" from a red signal flare and spread this around, equipped with a zealous "condemnation of the GDR," as a common negative cliche.

Here in the GDR capital one asks oneself how long those politicians in Bonn who are interested in understanding and in normal relations with the GDR, intend to look on at the actions of their authorities. The activity of this ministry, which has been an anachronism since the very beginning and is completely superfluous, can only be damaging to relations between the two German states.

It is not necessary to go into Hennig's other remarks. To date it is not yet known in the GDR that a socialist restructuring, in accordance with the example of the Soviet Union, is being carried out in the Federal Republic of Germany. [as received]

FRG Citizen Detained for 'Unlawful Entry'

LD1002120989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1131 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—On 7 February 1989, the FRG citizen Ronald Kuerschner was detained by responsible organs of the GDR. Kuerschner was unlawfully on the territory of the GDR with the intention of carrying out illegal actions. A preliminary investigation was initiated against Kuerschner and an arrest warrant issued.

Kessler Wants Reciprocal NATO Disarmament

LD1002151189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1332 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler has described the unilateral disarmament steps of the Warsaw Pact states and the comparison of forces set out by them as important contributions to peace and detente in Europe.

That also applies to the decision announced by Erich Honecker on reductions of the NVA and GDR defense expenditure, he said on Friday in Berlin in a lecture to leading SED cadres from state and industry. True to the special responsibility concerning the sensitive border between imperialism and socialism, this unilateral step is proof of the integrity and predictability of socialist foreign, security, and military policies.

Army General Kessler stressed that the peoples rightly expect the NATO politicians and military personnel also to make substantial contributions to reducing their attack potential while respecting the real relationship of forces. The appeal to forego any attempts to get a round the intermediate-missile agreement and to act on similar disarmament measures for its armed forces was directed particularly at the FRG Government.

NATO 'Has Not Responded'

AU0902074989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Dieter Daumann and Colonel Hans-Joachim Lauenstein: "NATO—Words and Deeds"]

[Text] At present, the general atmosphere in international relations is positive. Apparently a turn from confrontation to detente is taking place, as Erich Honecker stated at the Seventh SED Central Committee session.

In order to make this a permanent and irreversible development, the Warsaw Pact states, despite visible complications and massive resistance by forces hostile to detente, again submitted numerous proposals at the beginning of this year. The declaration by the Defense Ministers Committee on the numerical strength of the Warsaw Pact's and NATO's Armed Forces and armaments and the announced unilateral reductions show once again the socialist military coalition's staunch willingness to do everything in its power to speedily reduce mutual concerns, to end the arms race, to facilitate the start of conventional disarmament, and to make peace more secure for all peoples.

In an illustrative way that is apparent to everybody, the socialist European states are implementing step by step the principles of the Warsaw Pact's joint military doctrine which was adopted in Berlin in 1987. All this affects the nuclear and conventional disarmament process positively.

Proposals by the Warsaw Treaty Unanswered So Far

Undoubtedly, the definitions of the Stockholm document on confidence-building measures and security have contributed to improving the climate of predictability, confidence, and security in Europe. For example, last year 24 National People's Army officers observed maneuvers, among them 20 NATO maneuvers. During the same period, 68 NATO officers took the same opportunity on GDR territory.

Although first steps in the right direction have been taken, one cannot fail to see that influential NATO circles stick to their course of confrontation. This is manifested by the fact that the North Atlantic Alliance still has not responded to the well thought out and comprehensive offers by the Warsaw Pact states, for which it has been severely criticized by some in its own camp.

This course of confrontation was also demonstrated by the NATO Autumn Maneuvers of 1988. As in the years before, staff officers and troops trained for the "West's strategy of deterrence" with modern nuclear and conventional weapons. At least half a million men participated—from the North Cape to Turkey, including the Atlantic, the North European waters, and the Mediterranean.

FRG Is the Largest "Training Area" on the Continent

The FRG territory, which is the continent's largest and most intensively used "training area" with 580,000 departures of military planes and 85 large-scale and 5,000 smaller (less than 2,000 men) exercises per year, also remained the main area for maneuvers in 1988. In September alone, 125,000 soldiers were concentrated for "Certain Challenge" in the FRG's southeast, which according to information, put out by the United States was the most comprehensive U.S. Army maneuvers since World War II. A U.S. staff officer told the press: "We are out there with all we have." That is, only a few kilometers from the borders of the GDR and the CSSR, the sensitive dividing line between different social systems and military coalitions.

Thus, because of their structure, their size, and the direction of their thrust, the concept, and the concentration of forces and means, the NATO autumn maneuvers of 1988 were by no means a contribution to detente, disarmament, and further confidence-building. Even the upper middle-class paper DIE WELT was not able to refrain from stating that the 1988 maneuvers "were basically no different from previous ones."

Against this background, the FRG chancellor's assessment at the Bundeswehr commanders' conference on 13 December 1988 appears more than questionable as he claims: "Our security policy (that of the FRG—the authors) has never had anything to do with the saber rattling of the past. It has served peace from the very start."

Measures That Are Out of Place In Our Time

After "Autumn Forge-88," also Scholz, FRG defense minister, will have to answer questions on whether this "FRG security policy" is really "constructive peace policy," as he asserted in his speech in Moscow on 25 October 1988. There is a flagrant contradiction between wanting to "establish a just and reliable state of peace," as he said, and reality.

One has to observe with growing concern how certain NATO circles persistently try to dodge the agreements of the INF Treaty with plans for modernization and compensation. This concerns, among other things, the development of a new generation of 155 mm- and 203.2 mm-caliber nuclear artillery ammunition which can be transformed into neutron warheads by the installation of appropriate auxiliary equipment. This also concerns the continuous development of combat planes which can be used in the conventional and nuclear sectors (for example, the F-111).

The measures adopted by the NATO Nuclear Planning Group are also completely out of place today.

Modern Weapons for Old Policy of Violence

The additional deployment of sea-based cruise missiles in European sea areas, the introduction of new air-based standoff-missiles for NATO fighter bomber units, and the development of a system to succeed the Lance missiles with a range of little less than 500 km—to mention only a few examples—are a step in the wrong direction and serve the classical concept of the imperialist policy of violence. There is not one single detail that represents an approach to concentrating structures and arms primarily on defense, to take up the ideas about an inability to attack or even envisage reduction.

Such facts prove that, on the one hand, leading politicians from NATO states advocate a world in which peace is secure. On the other hand, influential circles in the Atlantic alliance are doing everything to stop and reverse the turn from confrontation to detente.

The most aggressive NATO forces obviously intend to take social revenge after all and, according to NATO Secretary General Woerner, create a "new political order in Europe." They are striving for military superiority and still insist on NATO's outdated military doctrine. Recent statements by NATO leaders at the 26th International Defense Conference in Munich have confirmed this once more.

Accordingly, there will be no change as regards the doctrine of deterrence, the military strategy of "flexible response," the first use of nuclear weapons, and "forward defense." For this purpose, the nuclear triad, strong conventional armed forces and the undiminished presence of U.S. Armed Forces in Western Europe, with the West European share being increased at the same time, are considered to be indispensable.

Pressed by the disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and its allies and by public opinion in their own sphere of power, the leading NATO bodies have declared their readiness for negotiations on arms control and disarmament—however, exclusively on the basis of their own military strength and to their own advantage.

The supreme NATO body 1 day after Mikhail Gorbachev's speech before the 43d session of the UN General Assembly showed that they do not want to negotiate on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. In the NATO Council's statement "Conventional Arms Control—Two Ways Forward," important asymmetrical reductions to NATO's advantage are demanded. The document contains only upper limits for weapons systems that suit NATO, such as tanks and artillery, and for troop strength. However, negotiations on systems in which NATO has superiority, such as the air force, naval forces, and some components of the land forces, are not planned at all.

Some people are still obsessed with the absurd idea that one could exercise political blackmail or economic pressure by clinging to the escalation of armament and using an expected or hoped for unstable situation in one or the other socialist country. Thus, it is urgently necessary to consider the words and deeds of the NATO sphere with watchfulness and without illusions.

Military Protection of Socialism Continues To Be Guaranteed

In the light of the latest Warsaw Pact declarations, it would be time for the NATO leadership and especially for the FRG to finally show their readiness for active disarmament steps. The seventh session of the SED Central Committee confirmed that, despite disruptive actions by the most aggressive imperialist circles, we firmly stick to our policy which is aimed at securing peace. This includes the further development of the dialogue with all forces of reason and realism. It also implies ensuring our national defense in all fields, and, above all, in the GDR Armed Forces and border troops, so that adequate and secure military safeguarding of peace and socialism continues to be guaranteed at any time.

Schabowski Speaks at Party Aktiv Conference

AU0702134589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Feb 89 p 5

["From the concluding speech" by Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, at the Berlin Bezirk Party Aktiv session in Berlin on 2 February: "The Successes Are Unique in Our People's History"]

[Excerpts] We can say that our party aktiv session for the preparation of the local elections on 7 May has fulfilled their task. The speech and the discussion demonstrated in a convincing and varied way that socialism and democracy form an inseparable unity in our worker-peasant power. There is no doubt that socialist democracy is one of the basic values of socialism. It offers a great number of possibilities to exercise one's civil rights in an effective way and to follow one's specific interests.

In our country there are more than 200 social organizations that are open to the citizens in this respect. Social democracy also describes the forms of dealing with each other in a comradely way, for instance between Communists, Christians, nonparty citizens, the political organizations that cooperate in the National Front, and also our five-party coalition. [passage omitted]

We also count our republic's consistent antifascism among the values of socialism to which we are pledged and which we again clearly confirm with our election decision. Our state is headed by a man who is valued and appreciated all over the world not least because of his indomitable struggle against fascism. Communists were the main power of antifascist resistance. Their party, our party is the leading power in our society.

In the FRG and in Berlin (West) matters are fundamentally different. This was shown by the election Sunday [29 January] in Berlin (West). There the neo-Nazis, who deceptively call themselves "Republican Party," were given the political trading license first class.

The world public asks: What is actually impossible over there? In the FRG an SS man can become the head of such a party. He can boast of his "clearance certificate" from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which spies on antifascists, persecutes them, and has them put on the list of people who are banned from exercising their professions.

We also recall the macabre honor paid to SS murderers by Bonn's chancellor in Bitburg. The CSU politician Stoiber sees an alarming "racial penetration" of the FRG society by guestworkers. In FRG schools sadistic computer games are traded which deal with Nazi atrocities.

Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, characterized the election Sunday as a "bad day." In his talks with Erich Honecker and during his participation in the memorial events on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night in Berlin, Heinz Galinski, together with outstanding representatives of the Jewish world movement, experienced the consistent antifascism of the GDR, its steadfast and unchanging attitude against any anti-Semitism. Based on this attitude, we say: We feel solidarity with all antifascist and democratic forces in Berlin (West), which categorically protest against the Nazi scandal and take to the streets under the slogan: "Away with the Nazi rabble!"

The values and concepts of our society, including our lively socialist democracy, cannot be estimated highly enough in today's world. Therefore, it is so important that we comrades are working at all times and in any place as fighters and the driving force for including all citizens in the shaping of our social affairs and for making them sharper-eyed in social matters.

We want to win over everyone, we have to deal with still unsolved issues again and again, we want to find out which problems concern the people, and we want to find increasingly better solutions together with them—this, too, was stated by today's conference, this is the responsibility of a Communist. [passage omitted]

GDR-India Economic Committee Session Begins

AU0802112189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] New Delhi (ADN)—The eighth session of the GDR-India Joint Committee for Economic and scientific-Technological Cooperation started in New Delhi on Monday [6 February]. The delegations are headed by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Indian Industry Minister Vengal Rao. The discussions center on possibilities and tasks of further expanding trade and economic relations between the two states. It was stressed that one of the results achieved in economic cooperation since the last session is foreign trade turnover, which has steadily increased over the past few years.

Soelle Leads Group in Session

LD0902214889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1947 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Delhi (ADN)—The GDR and India will continue to direct their joint efforts at further improving the international situation. This was underlined at a meeting between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and GDR Deputy Prime Minister Horst Soelle in Delhi today.

Horst Soelle expressed the GDR's high esteem for India's action plan for the creation of a world without nuclear weapons nor violence. Rajiv Gandhi paid tribute to the GDR's contribution to disarmament and detente in Europe, which was clarified by the most recent initiative by Erich Honecker for the implementation of unilateral disarmament measures.

Soelle led the GDR delegation to the eighth session of the GDR-India Joint Economic Committee in Delhi. In the talks it was stressed that the proceedings and results of the eighth session have underlined the fact that GDR-Indian cooperation is a living example of active relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. Both sides affirmed their determination to deepen trusting cooperation and to extend it to new sectors.

Leipzig Spring Fair To Be Held 12-18 March

AU0802093489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—This year's Leipzig Spring Fair will again be the center of attraction for the international business world. From 12 to 18 March, 9,000 exhibiting firms from 16 investment and consumer good sectors will present themselves to visitors from more than 100 countries. The slogan "for cosmopolitan trade and technological progress" symbolizes the claim to once more contribute to stabilizing economic relations between the states in this eventful time in the spirit of dialogue and peace. [passage omitted]

Polish Official on Leipzig Fair

AU0902140389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] On Tuesday [7 February] Wieslaw Grzymski, director of the Polish Foreign Trade Chamber, reported on good results in the economic cooperation between the GDR and the PPR at a press conference in Berlin on the occasion of the forthcoming Leipzig Spring Fair. Trade has developed dynamically. Interstate plans have been fulfilled and partly overfulfilled, he said. For Poland, the GDR is the third-largest partner among the socialist countries.

Products of the electrical engineering industry account for two-thirds of the GDR deliveries. Poland primarily exports machines, equipment, and services. The director reported that his country will be represented by 53 exhibitors at this year's spring fair.

January Economic Statistics Published

AU0802113289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The working people in the sectors of industry, agriculture, construction, and transport, on the course of further implementing the unity of economic and social policy, which was outlined by the seventh meeting of the SED Central Committee, have fulfilled the plan targets of the national economy and have purposefully overfulfilled it wherever the material-technical conditions permitted them to do so. According to the present statistics, national income grew by 4 percent compared to the same month of the previous year.

To implement the task of solving the housing question as a social problem in the GDR until the year 1990, a total of 13,773 apartments were newly built or modernized. Having taken advantage of the favorable weather conditions, the plan target was overfulfilled by 1,673 apartments.

Retail trade sold 4 percent more goods to the population than in January last year. Net monetary income increased by 3 percent.

Industry produced goods worth M203 million more than the January plan target. Compared to the same period last year industrial goods production rose by 3.9 percent. Net production was up 6.2 percent and labor productivity by 6.0 percent. Costs were reduced by 1.5 percent.

In the construction sector plan, targets for January were overfulfilled by M20 millions. Labor productivity increased by 4 percent.

In January nine production facilities, provided by the state investment plan, were put into service in order to strengthen the material-technical basis of the national economy. These include facilities for the production of:

—glass-optical light guides in the communications electronics VEB, Greifswald;

—switching circuits in the clock works VEB, Ruhla;

—ammonia in the agrochemicals VEB, Piesteritz;

—cotton fabrics in the Aprotex VEB, Limbach-Oberfrohna; and production capacities for raw brown coal in the Witznitz open pit mine in the brown coal works, Borna.

In implementing the SED's economic strategy, the high speed in the production and application of key technologies continued in the first month of the new year. A total of 5,421 office and personal computers were produced, which means an increase of 31 percent compared to January last year. Production of monolithically integrated circuits was up 35 percent. The production of robots amounted to 1,815, which means 748 more than last year. The production of serial printers was up 28 percent.

In agriculture the January plan for the state procurement of slaughter animals was overfulfilled by 7,240 tonnes, that of milk by 30,380 tonnes, and that of eggs by 64 million units.

The railroads fulfilled the monthly plan by 100.2 percent.

In the individual sectors of industry the following growth in net production and labor productivity per workday, and the following reduction in prime costs per m100 of goods production were achieved in the month of january:

	net production	labor productivity	reduction in prime costs
		—in percent—	
Coal and energy	5.8	4.5	1.3
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	3.5	3.4	0.9
Chemical industry	8.1	8.0	0.8
Electrical engineering, electronics	0.2	9.5	3.2
Heavy machinery and installation construction	5.9	7.2	1.8
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	5.0	5.5	1.5
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	3.8	3.4	0.5
Light industry	3.9	2.9	0.6
Glass and ceramics industry	4.8	5.2	0.9
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	6.3	6.4	1.7

Within Bezirk-administered industry the following growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reductions in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	net production	manufactured goods for the population	reduction in prime costs
		—in percent—	
Capital city of Berlin	5.3	3.0	0.3
Cottbus	13.2	9.1	1.7
Dresden	6.6	4.9	1.7
Erfurt	8.7	8.4	1.4
Frankfurt	8.2	12.2	2.0
Gera	9.8	8.1	2.3
Halle	4.2	10.6	2.2
Karl-Marx-Stadt	6.2	4.4	2.4
Leipzig	4.0	7.2	0.3
Magdeburg	5.5	6.9	1.4
Neubrandenburg	8.4	6.2	2.2
Potsdam	13.9	9.8	3.1
Rostock	12.9	2.9	0.6
Schwerin	14.5	10.7	1.4
Suhl	13.5	11.3	3.3

MSZMP Central Committee Session Opens 10 Feb

LD1002103489 Budapest MTI in English 0938 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 10 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party commenced at 9 a.m. on Friday [10 February]. The body will discuss current home political issues, to be presented by Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP.

Grosz Attends Secretaries' Meeting 9 Feb

LD0902220789 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The first secretaries of the county and county-rank party committees of the HSWP held a session on Thursday [9 February] in the attendance of HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, the secretaries of the Central Committee, the president of the Central Control Committee, and the heads of the departments and institutions of the Central Committee.

The participants held a consultation on the conception of the Constitution, and on topical domestic policy issues.

Karoly Grosz Continues Switzerland Visit

Addresses Davos Economic Forum

AU3101163689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jan 89 pp 2, 3

[Speech by MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz at the world economic forum held in Davos, Switzerland, on 29 January: "Karoly Grosz: Our Fate—Europe"]

[Text] Mr Chairman! Mr Vice Chancellor! Ladies and gentlemen!

It is an honor for me to be able to participate in this meeting of the world economic forum. Informal exchanges of views between political and economic decisionmakers contribute to worldwide economic progress and international stability. I have gladly accepted your invitation because this also shows the great interest of the world's political and business circles in Hungary's reform policy and its international efforts.

I express my thanks to the Swiss Government and its hospitable people for making this meeting possible.

I listened to Vice Chancellor Genscher's words with a good feeling and satisfaction. His ideas on cooperation are in harmony with our intentions, too.

Ladies and gentlemen!

Both in the East and West, Europe is searching for its place in our fast-changing world. Our children are today learning for the 3d millennium. Whatever they will carry with them from the lessons of the 20th century is being decided now. Confrontation or cooperation, distrust or confidence, devastating war or mutual security—it is our common responsibility to decide on this!

It is a reality of our age that the peoples of Europe are seeking prosperity on various development tracks. Starting from very different levels of development, the peoples of Europe have advanced tremendously compared to themselves and the world alike. The right of nations to freely choose their social order will also be the law of future. Strict adherence to this law is a fundamental requirement of coexistence.

There Is No Rational Alternative to Cooperation

Another important lesson of our age is that peoples and nations cannot shape their lives independently of each other. This is because their fates are naturally interwoven, and their cooperation multiplies the efficiency of their efforts.

Military confrontation and ideological-political hostility still prevailed over the people's real interests 4 decades ago, and divided Europe for a long time. It is true, however, that Helsinki and the ensuing detente have sparked the hope of European cooperation. Our peoples became richer with the unforgettable experience of creating contacts. However, we still have to make considerable use of this historic opportunity.

We can wait no longer because there is no rational alternative to cooperation! We cannot allow the values of European and the entire human culture to disappear in the wake of a war in Europe. Lacking modern cooperation, our natural environment is also threatened with destruction. It is also in our common economic interest to cooperate because the joint use of our peoples' intellectual energy could help the whole of Europe to effectively meet the challenge of the increasing economic and scientific-technological competition currently prevailing in the world.

Yes, ladies and gentlemen, to quote Stefan Zweig, Europe has reached a new star era [csillagora]. Both opportunity and need are present. European countries will continue to have to respect the realities that emerged in the wake of World War II, but peoples' decisions are no longer limited by laws of war that are foreign to them.

Nations can decide by their own free will whether to cooperate or to confront each other. As a Hungarian and a European, I believe that the Europe of the nineties should be characterized by values of humanity, democracy, and cooperation.

The road leading to the creation of a common Europe is a two-way street. Both sides not only can but also must advance toward each other by being certain that, even if they cannot count on easy progress, they at least do not advance into a deadend. However, in order to make this road feasible, we need a new philosophy, new thinking, and a courageous break with the past. "You should not be lenient and spare those who worship idols," the wisdom of the Bible warns. Indeed, our acts should be governed by common interests and a sober mind rather than ideological prejudices and idols!

Esteemed audience!

I am convinced that cooperation among nations is also in harmony with the main trends of global development. Our world is increasingly characterized by mutual dependence and interdependence. We are advancing toward cooperation by eliminating everything that disturbs this cooperation, such as national selfishness and racial and religious prejudices. I honestly hope that the welcome process of strengthening Soviet-U.S. understanding and dialogue will prove to be a lasting one. This is vital for both the world and Europe.

Nor can the world economy function in the old way when the recognition of the peoples' common fate becomes a political and social force. The next decade will be characterized by a multipolar world economy. However, this does not have to automatically lead to insurmountable economic and technological backwardness in the development of various areas. It is very important that the economic growth of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe should simultaneously increase the chances of the developing world and of the socialist countries, and broaden the opportunities of cooperation. Polarization should not lead to the emergence of regional power blocs and separatism, for this would represent a serious risk not only to the outsiders but also to individual groups. This would only increase protectionism, economic confrontation, and uncertainty, and would threaten the favorable international developments.

Ladies and gentlemen!

A successfully developing Western Europe is one of the important factors of stable and balanced European and international relations. We respect its values. I sincerely wish for the development of the Western European integration to contribute to their peoples' prosperity and simultaneously to eliminating the existing obstacles of economic cooperation in all of Europe.

It will greatly determine the events of the next decade whether or not the socialist countries are able to eliminate their inherited backwardness and become partners with other countries in Europe in every respect. Why do I think that the current renewal will create the chances for this? I believe that the socialist countries have no other alternative. Lucretius' words are true: "... a man should be observed in times of crises, and he shows his real face only in bad times." Socialism is challenged by a historical test, and the recognition of this fact has released tremendous internal energies. The power of socialism is multiplied by the fact that renewal is based on the national characteristics of individual countries, and thus this contributes to the assertion of the encouraging effects of the outside world. The Soviet restructuring and the reform movement of the socialist countries are today the greatest ventures of socialism since 1917, a really European performance.

Socialist Countries Are Facing Critical Years

However, the socialist countries are temporarily facing crucial years. Historical experience shows that we must pay for a modern production structure and an efficient economic management by temporarily reducing consumption and even accepting unemployment in justified cases. However, renewal promises opportunities for economic stabilization and gradual economic growth. The reform of CEMA is simultaneously the source of its actual openness. The liberalization policy of the socialist countries creates better conditions for foreign capital and makes it possible to make better use of East European markets in the future. With joint efforts, we should make certain that the socialist countries participate in decisive international economic policy coordination much more forcefully than hitherto, and that discrimination and obsolete limitations on the transfer of technology are eliminated. In this case, it is realistic to hope that, even if at a slower pace in the short run, East-West trade will develop faster than before and that the socialist countries will also be able to alleviate their debt problems.

In this case, the socialist countries will be able to catch up with the main international economic trends and to participate as stable and predictable partners in shaping international relations. If the political and economic reform ceased or became distorted as a result of external difficulties and internal problems, the European and international atmosphere would grow more tense, and Europe would grow poorer.

A lot depends on the realistic evaluation and relations of economic circles. I suggest that you should come to Budapest and discuss the issues of East-West cooperation in a regional consultation of the world economic forum.

In the political sphere, we should also waste no time in jointly outlining the future Europe. On the basis of the requirements of common sense, the final document of the CSCE conference in Vienna outlines a new understanding in Europe. Switzerland and other neutral and nonaligned countries will continue to play an important role in creating a new infrastructure for our relations.

We have started on the road of reducing the level of nuclear confrontation. With common determination, in the nineties, we can also advance in eliminating conventional weapons. Sooner or later, growing confidence will make it clear that Europe can also exist without military alliances. The unilateral Soviet partial disarmament and troop withdrawal is a good example for future actions.

I consider respect for human rights to be more important than anything else. Only in this way can we pay adequate tribute to the memory of our common spiritual predecessors 200 years after the French revolution, people who were the first to use as their slogan the inspiring words: Liberty, equality, fraternity. There can be no detente and confidence in Europe as long as there is one single country where human rights are gravely violated and national minorities insulted.

Our young people whom we must protect from prejudices will play a great role. Only their active participation can enable us to make our political borders symbolic and to overcome the obsolete elements of our thinking. I propose to establish a European youth fund to increase multifaceted contacts among young people.

Let us take a common stand against the alarming phenomena of our age: terrorism, drugs, and AIDS.

Economic and Political Reform

Esteemed audience!

We Hungarians have started on the road leading to a common Europe. We are carrying out political and economic reforms simultaneously. This program set the short-term goal of stabilizing the situation, and the long-term goal of creating a structure that guarantees an open, humane, and democratic development and which makes it possible for the country to increasingly integrate in the European and international processes.

To achieve this, we have recently made significant steps forward in strengthening market relations. As a result of the new law on economic associations, the spiritual reserves of our society and the people's entrepreneurial zeal can be better utilized, and private capital can play a greater role. The introduction of the new tax system and elimination of foreign trade and banking monopolies reflect the need for modern economic management. Whether we succeed in increasing performance in the society and in the economy will decide the efficiency of our reform program. We fulfilled our economic program for 1988. We have achieved a considerable improvement in our foreign trade balance accounted in convertible currency, and this gives our partners and us cause for hope.

We are determined in our strategic efforts to open up to the world at large. I sincerely hope that the world exhibition to be held simultaneously in Vienna and Budapest in 1995, and to which you are kindly invited, can be a symbol of this openness.

Our goal is to make our international market competitiveness the major priority in changing our production structure and even in our entire economic development. Wandering Hungarian tradesmen reached Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands over the centuries, and they have learned the secrets of their trade. Learning is not shameful today, either. We want to apply the experiences and knowledge of the most advanced countries in the world and in Europe. By establishing free-trade zones, creating mixed enterprises, and involving working capital, we are striving to achieve production cooperation that will expand our traditional trade relations. Foreign capital is today more secure in Hungary. This is guaranteed not only by our political intentions but also by our new laws. In the long run, Hungary will open its borders to the free flow of capital, expertise, information, and labor.

I am well aware of the fact that we have to pay a "price" for this opening to the world economy. Restructuring is a painful and time-consuming process which requires the elimination of venerable professions and jobs, and a change in traditional incomes and positions, as well as living habits and values. However, we have no other choice. At the same time, we do not demand sacrifices from the Hungarian people for the benefit of their future, but rather greater readiness for initiatives and entrepreneurial zeal, the acknowledgement and appreciation of creative energy, and the accumulation and application of knowledge. All these become possible only if we further democratize the political conditions, modernize our political institutions, eliminate the limitations that hinder the creative communities, and improve the general conditions.

A Stable Hungary is In the Interest of Europe

Due to its endowments, Hungary has to orient itself simultaneously toward both large European integrations. It will continue to be in our interest to develop advanced cooperation with CEMA. Both our responsibility for the future of Europe and our economic development require us to expand our relations with the EEC and even to explore new opportunities of cooperation with the EFTA countries. Hungary seeks to develop its relations with the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and the Western European Union. We are ready to directly cooperate with every political party and social force that is ready to do so.

Hungary is actively participating in the activity of the United Nations, GATT, and the international financial institutions. Hungary is open to cooperation with all countries because it believes that this is in the interest of the world, Europe, and of the Hungarian people.

It is extremely important for us that our thinking is in harmony with the development trends which the decisive factors of the world today, both in East and West, consider to be progressive. According to our belief and conviction, we will continue to advance on the road of reforms because this accords with our national interests. However, we will have a chance for lasting progress only if our major partners in the political arena and economic circles and multilateral economic and financial organizations support our efforts. I believe that the peoples of Europe are also interested in a stable and developing socialist Hungary.

Ladies and gentlemen!

You can be justified in asking why—as a representative of a country of 10 million people— I am so concerned with the fate of Europe. My answer is simple: The development of my nation has always been connected with the fate of Europe. In the course of our history, we have experienced it, we understand it intellectually, and we can feel that Europe is our fate.

Discusses Western Talks

LD3101103189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] [Presenter] We report on Karoly Grosz's itinerary in Switzerland. Istvan Sandor reports:

[Begin recording] [Sandor] Since the past weekend you have left the negotiating table only to escort one high-ranking guest away, and to invite another one to the table. A considerable part of your discussions were on economic-financial issues. What was your impression? What kind of report are our partners, Western partners, preparing about us, and to what extent will the grades they give correspond to the grades you would give for the same subjects?

[Grosz] I believe that our partners value the plans, and our efforts to realize the plans, which are based on the economic reform program. At the same time, as compared to my previous experience, I can recognize a certain change in opinion. Earlier, they did not believe we were thinking seriously of these plans. I had a feeling that they considered them to be a kind of tactical element. I think that this is now part of the past. I now feel we have the strength to realize these plans. Thus, as for our intentions, I have no doubt that the international environment is suited for a small country to realize this program. On the other hand, a new element, which I did not experience earlier, is whether our domestic political conditions are suitable for realizing the economic program.

Our partners, in a divergence from previous practice, clearly view the rapidity of the reform efforts in political relations to be justified; they feel that here a certain measure of self-propelling laws of political reform efforts are in effect, and that political reform is breaking away from economic reform.

[Sandor] [Question indistinct]

[Grosz] They recommend that we be more circumspect, more thoughtful. There was an interesting experience the day before yesterday at a luncheon, where extremely eminent and highly experienced figures influential in economic matters were present. They asked several times: Where are we rushing; do we not see the possibility of the same dangers arising from our being overly hasty as those due to our not taking action?

[Sandor] What did you reply?

[Grosz] I replied that their concern was not without grounds. They are right.

[Sandor] I would like to return to concrete economic issues. If I am correct, you may have heard several times in the past few days from your partners that a considerable amount—several million [currency not specified]—of Western operating capital is standing in readiness, is being amassed at our Western border, which cannot come across because the capacity to receive it does not exist in Hungary, because our official bureaucracy slows down the operating possibilities. What was your reply to these concerns?

[Grosz] The same as last year in the course of visits to the West. Our partners are right. The Hungarian economy's receiving capacity is poor, but this does not stem from subjective intentions. In Hungary, it is not simply a bureaucratic mechanism that is unable to receive Western possibilities, but rather a case of there being no system of institutions suited to mediate. Now it will be easier to abolish the bureaucracy than to develop a new system of institutions.

Allow me to say, as an example, that there is no established practice and accepted norm in Hungary for assessing property. If an enterprise, a mixed enterprise, is formed, what does the intellectual capital, the work culture, the tools, the infrastructure, amount to, and what is it worth? And it is under this that a Hungarian enterprise joins in a joint venture. This must be done, scientifically, and exactingly, to a lesser or greater extent.

Now, if you please, if we ask the would-be partner to assess property, it is naturally in his interest to assess our property at the lowest level possible. If we assess it, it is in our interest to assess it at the highest level possible, because the proportion is greater. Thus, we have to build on an assessment that is objective, businesslike, and—I am convinced of this—one that is not Hungarian, not the interested party's, but rather one coming from a professional institution or institutions.

[Sandor] On Sunday [29 January] evening you received great applause from several hundred leading representatives of the international economic forum, when in your speech, you linked the fate of the Hungarian economic and political reform efforts to the fate of a unified Europe. At the same time, anxiety showed in the following questions, because some of the questioners closely linked Hungary's economic and political reforms with the fate of the Soviet Union's. What reply can you give to these worries? The question was also asked: If perestroyka does not succeed, if it does not succeed to such an extent, then to what degree would this lead to (?a failure) of the Hungarian plans?

[Grosz] I have experienced this elsewhere. Compared to last year, I believe that vis-a-vis the processes under way in the Soviet Union, there should be greater concern, and there is greater worry for the processes than before. It appears to me that it is beginning to appear that there is greater resistance in the Soviet Union to Gorbachev's ingenuity than was thought earlier. If this is true, then it is only a step from there being a wording of the anxiety concerning how this will affect Hungary's efforts at reform.

I said earlier—what I said yesterday evening—that the reform in Hungary nourishes itself from Hungarian soil. It is the resolve of the Hungarian leadership and the will of the Hungarian people, because I feel that there is a consensus. Naturally, we are not indifferent to how the reform efforts unfold in neighboring countries—they can facilitate or slow down the realization of our own program—but they cannot prevent it. I am convinced of this. We have no other alternative, we have no other path. If we want to live, if we want to lead this nation out of its low point, then we have to implement this reform consistently. If, of course, the international medium takes shape in a manner whereby the reform processes slow down elsewhere, this would demand even greater efforts of us, or perhaps a more flexible attitude. I even daresay perhaps new tactics, but by no means a new strategy. [end recording]

Details Party Groupings, Tendencies

AU0302143589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by Andras Kanyo, on board the aircraft returning from the Davos, Switzerland economic forum, on 30 January: "Karoly Grosz on the Party, on 1956 Events, and on Reform Debates"]

[Text] Karoly Grosz gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Andras Kanyo on board the regular Malev flight bringing him home from Switzerland.

[Kanyo] The talks in Davos have shown that there are both great interest in and concern for Hungary. The question is whether the accelerated political processes are not happening too fast and whether we are not drifting into a social explosion. Opinions differ in this respect not only in public but also within the MSZMP Politburo. How do you evaluate the situation?

[Grosz] I see a real danger in an unjustified acceleration of the political reform, and I see a danger of an explosion in this and a danger that these political processes could become impossible to control. Besides, people abroad, who perhaps judge us more objectively, given the distance involved and their adequate experience, while they are following with sympathy the Hungarian economic reform and renewal and our search for a way out, and while they demonstrate concern for Hungary, fear precisely the possibility of such an explosion. At the working lunch in Zurich, which was attended by the most prominent figures of Swiss economic life, who represent a tremendous amount of capital, several people urged us to exhibit more coolness and called for a constructive guidance of political processes. Compared to our previous European consultations, one of the most spectacular differences in this exchange of views was the fact that our partners feared that the Hungarian political reform process would exceed the critical limits, and that it thus could turn against its political goals, destroying rather than aiding our economic renewal.

[Kanyo] One of your negotiating partners said that they were well aware of the importance of a humane democratic process, but that the world would assess us on the basis of our economic results.

[Grosz] Yes. One of the world's most eminent banking experts said this, and he clearly termed our political goals positive. However, he warned us not to mix the processes up! Any kind of political demonstration will lose its value in a very short time if the economic performance does not improve. He also drew our attention to the fact that we should increase our current economic performance in an expedient and concentrated way. In his opinion, it is impossible to closely connect the renewal under way in our political reform processes with our economic development. As he told me: "You are cherishing illusions with this." He knows us well because he was the one who provided direct financial assistance to Hungary in the crisis of 1982.

[Kanyo] For decades we have been engaged almost exclusively in economic reforms and have neglected political reforms. Now, it seems as if the government, the party, and society have been urging only the reform of our political institutions. Under such conditions, and the same conditions prevailed 2 years ago, it is no wonder that the government is unable to carry out even its most urgent tasks of restructuring because of the tough opposition. Even the trade unions are playing an important role in this, not to mention the local bodies. If things continue like this, soon there will be nothing left to reform....

[Grosz] Indeed, I also see that the political and economic reforms have begun to go in separate directions. However, I do not consider this situation so tragic; it is rather a trend that carries a warning. A hungry man wants to eat quickly at a well-laid table! In such cases, rational consideration does not work, namely that this could lead to an upset stomach.... This is exactly what is happening now: After delayed political reforms, new opportunities have now emerged suddenly, and the need to compensate for this delay is emerging with elemental force, without moderation, self-discipline, or self-control.

[Kanyo] What is your opinion of the desirable strategy and of the demand to hold parliamentary elections in the spring and actually introduce a multiparty system? We are referring here to the declarations made over the weekend, declarations that show that opinions also differ on this subject in the party leadership. According to Janos Berecz, "there is a danger that the MSZMP, currently the largest and strongest political organization, is not entirely able to direct the processes because it has to settle its own ranks." We also heard that, in evaluating the events of 1956, Imre Pozsgay used terminology in his radio interview about which there is no consensus within the party.

[Grosz] I heard on the airplane that there was an interview, and I read it in a newspaper here on the plane. Thus, I do not know anything more specific. I have no knowledge of the events leading up to this interview, nor about its circumstances. We were together with Imre Pozsgay at the Politburo meeting a few days before my departure. He did not mention anything there. I repeat, all I know is what I have now read in NEPSZABADSAG. When the Central Committee delegated the working committee that he leads—this is not some sort of subcommittee, but rather one that must review the lessons of 4 decades—the Central Committee asked this committee to prepare a program, or a program declaration, for the 14th MSZMP Congress, depending on how far the party debate advances in working out a concept in 1989. Obviously, the events of 1956 will be a part of this, a part that cannot be avoided.

I do not know what caused Imre Pozsgay to formulate this specific element of the entire analysis of 4 decades. As for the formulation itself, when we said that there should be a scientific review of the lessons of the past 4 decades, this also included a reevaluation of things. However, it is impossible to decide in advance on the political consequences of a scientific evaluation, because these political results are decided on by the Central Committee, and not by one person or one committee. The political results should be discussed by the Central Committee, which delegated its authority to this working committee, and this working committee is responsible to the Central Committee, not the Politburo. Obviously, various political consequences can be drawn from a scientific debate, but this debate will still be held. I think that perhaps Imre Pozsgay and the committee possess documents on which they based this statement, but I have not yet come across such documents. I would like to stress that, in principle, I do not exclude the possibility that, if we had new knowledge, we might come up with new scientific formulations and, based on these, with new political formulations.

As for the plan, in recent months, the Central Committee has twice begun to work out a plan, but the debate at the two Central Committee sessions did not lead to any results. The last Central Committee meeting delegated authority to a special working committee and commissioned the general secretary to head it, and furthermore, to submit a report on this plan to the next meeting of the Central Committee to be held in February. I was not told when Janos Berecz said that the strongest political organization in Hungary, the MSZMP, was not entirely able to direct these processes. If a political party does not want to influence the political processes, this means that it renounces its main tasks. The very fact that it influences political processes for the benefit of the society gives legitimacy to a political party. Thus, after two attempts, we have to try for the third time at the February Central Committee meeting to determine the main issues of substance, this time on the basis of a committee report and not a Politburo report. These issues are the following: MSZMP relations to a multiparty system, to the electoral system, and to the various alternative movements. This includes a schedule that the Central Committee must approven, so that the party leadership can know what to expect.

Freedom of Political Platforms, or Something Else

[Kanyo] These unsuccessful stages have provided an opportunity for a characteristic reform-rhetorical competition. No doubt, the freedom of political platforms has its advantages. What is the extent of this freedom of platforms, for party members already are unable to understand what the real policy means?

[Grosz] First of all, this is not platform freedom but rather a lack of self-discipline. Platform freedom means that differences of views can be represented within a body, even after the body has approved one or another position. Under the aforementioned terms, if justified, various activities of persuasion can be carried out within the body. However, as long as the body in question does not come up with a new decision, the previous decision remains in force. Therefore, platform freedom does not mean confusion and chaos, but rather a more open political debate within a body, a debate that provides an opportunity for the minority representatives to gather allies and supporters for their position. We do not consider this a faction. But as long as the majority position is in force, the minority should represent this position both in their conduct and practice, even if they do not agree with that position! The minority has a right and must have an opportunity to express its opinion within the body.

As for the reform-rhetoric, we have plenty of this at our disposal, and thus, many illusions are involved here. Some people think that just talking about reform means reform. The reform should manifest itself in deeds and attitudes. Any reform needs time, and this time factor should not be underestimated. The question arises whether the road that we have covered in the 9 months since the party conference means much or little. This is not much time in which to cleanse ourselves and develop the processes, but we did not do enough in all this. Therefore, I am not satisfied with the past months, although we have done a lot, primarily in shaping public thinking within the party. We have also accustomed the public to the changing situation, and we continue to do so.

More important than that is the fact that we are waging a battle within ourselves, and, in my view, we are approaching the end of this battle. We now know better what we should do for the future. True, we could have done more, and one cannot avoid the reason for our failure to do more: No personal unity has emerged in the leadership since the party conference. I repeat: personal unity, not a political one, human relations without which an efficient leadership body is inconceivable.

[Kanyo] What is the reason for this?

[Grosz] We have covered different life-paths, and we differ in evaluating the processes. At the same time, we must admit that this is the end of a great era when a great personality, with its own valuable, and at times questionable, characteristics has left his mark on the following generation. Not months, but much more time is needed for this new team to find its own style! This cannot be ordered by general public demand or by a decision.

However, there is also another reason. I believe that the current differences in the concepts, nature, and working style of the leadership, differences deriving so far from subjective elements, are beginning to turn into political differences. Our relationships to our past, to nationalism, and to the evaluation of our pace of development, all these belong here; and I could also list two or three other issues in which I also see differences of views emerging within the most narrow leadership circle. This has not yet emerged anywhere, and such differences could not be seen. As I have mentioned before, today subjective differences can also emerge in the form of political differences, and a lack of a substantial unity also seems to be appearing.

As for the elections, in my view—and I say my view because I mentioned that the Central Committee would decide on this issue later— the elections should be organized on the basis of the new constitution. Following a social debate, the new constitution could be completed by the end of this year. After that, the current parliament should adopt the new constitution and then confirm it by a referendum. After that, municipal elections should be organized in the spirit of the electoral law. Should it wish to, parliament could also elect the president [as published], but the people of the country could also vote by referendum. This scenario would conclude with the election of the new parliament. The 14th party congress should be permitted up to the end, by reversing the practice of many decades, and thus the party could draw from the political experiences acquired in the course of these elections. Last but not least, the party could rely on people who were able to win the election battles and thus were evaluated by the electorate. In this way, the moral and political basis of the party leadership could become firmer and stronger. One can say that this differs from the accepted practice, but this approach is justified. Another question is what platform the party members would appear on in the elections. If there is no congress, then neither will there be a program. I think that the Central Committee should accelerate its program-preparation activity by informing the party members about the main elements of this program prior to the elections, so that they know what to represent. The program would also benefit if the party could enrich its own program by analyzing the counter opinions or differences of opinions that emerge during the election debates. I do consider the conflict of having elections first and then a program as being impossible to solve. Elections could be an extremely effective means of formulating a program.

The End of an Era

[Kanyo] In a previous interview, you said that the party's reform policy is attacked from the outside by the right, and from the inside by the left. Do you still hold this view?

[Grosz] Yes. Within the party, there is a very special simplification made mainly behind a left-wing-type approach, and it is very difficult to use proper terms here. They want to have change without the harmful by-products of change. However, I do not think that it is possible to carry out such changes without some disturbances at a time of such social restructuring when we are creating a new model. Opinions differ, and we are unable to provide answers about every detail. This is all the more so because we ourselves do not know what exactly the new system will be like. Slogans do not mean a new system! Practice will establish the new system.

Therefore, in the struggle for the new style, it is important to fight with ourselves first in order to clarify our questions and the answers pertaining to the future. However, I feel another kind of pressure from the public: the pressure of shorelessness, namely that it rejects everything of the past 30 years that has been of value. This is now in vogue, and this is a great self-delusion, because the real mistakes of the post-1956 period are qualitatively different in nature from the mistakes of the period before 1956. Prior to 1956, the mistakes of a classic Stalinist model appeared, and, after 1956, these gross and rough mistakes disappeared from the political arena. There have been no more violations of the law; I do not know of any such violations! There has been no more tyranny like before.

In the post-1956 period, for some 10 to 15 years, the efforts aimed at formulating a more determined division of labor between party and state or public organizations were correct. A new spiritual trend and a new practice have emerged. New successes have been achieved, and mistakes have also been made. I repeat, however, that these mistakes were different in nature.

Where do I see the problems of the post-1956 period? The post-1956 leadership basically eliminated the structure that prevailed before 1956, but it did not develop ways to avoid the recurrence of previous mistakes. The post-1956 leadership rejected these distortions from the outset, and thus felt all the harmful consequences on their own skin. However, it is a fact that after a while, this leadership got too used to the surroundings in which it carried out its activity; after a while it started to stick too much to its own previous decisions, its self-control lost its strength, it ceased to be self-critical enough, and thus, subjective mistakes came to the fore. And here comes an essential difference: While until 1956, and later, let us say until the seventies, the separation of party and state activities was deliberate, later, the concept of "party state" began to gain the upper hand again. In my opinion, the essential mistake was that a new and effectively functioning system and mechanism that would naturally weaken subjectivism did not emerge to replace the old mechanism.

[Kanyo] Everything that we have decided in connection with the renewal of the party is precisely intended to break with the concept of a "party state." This renewal wants to separate the government from the party, and perhaps this is the road on which we should continue to advance. Is there a way to implement this goal under stabilized circumstances? Will the party not break up during this process?

[Grosz] This is indeed a problem, and the fact that we cannot derive enough success from our economy only increases our problems. Our society is impatient, and this worries us. However, 1988 was one of our most successful years in the last 1 and ½ decades, and we almost fulfilled the 1st year's program of a short-term, 3-year plan. I say "almost" because we were unable to seriously advance in restructuring, but I do not regard this as a serious mistake. This cannot be expected after 1 year, for restructuring can be a product of decades. Because there is not enough of a feeling of success, the patience of our society has further decreased. However, we should remind the people that we already predicted the increasing burdens as early as 1987! Today we do nothing except what we planned and declared in 1987, and for which we asked for patience! The strange thing is that the previous leadership was seriously criticized for being inconsistent. The current leadership, however, is criticized for being consistent. Of course, I know that the current leadership is being criticized for the problems, but there is also consistency behind these problems.

Illusions and Realities

[Kanyo] Perhaps impatience reflects the position of a narrow group in society. Is there also a calm majority out there?

[Grosz] I think this is true. The majority support this policy. However, a narrow group in society is indeed very loud, and its voice can be heard more clearly than the voice of the patient strata of society who are ready to accept sacrifices. I receive stunning letters. One says "God bless you all. Continue to do what you have started, even if it is difficult, so that we can overcome this period as soon as possible." An old nonparty member who is a pensioner and is living in difficult conditions wrote this letter. I have also received other letters which contain expressions such as: "Your are a gangster. You have betrayed the party and socialism." There are many letters, but most people in society are not writing letters. Rather, they are working and following events, and helping where they can. Perhaps they also have confidence.

Thus, on one side there is not enough of a feeling of success, and this is objectively a great burden with which we will have to live for 1 or 2 years. The leadership will need strong nerves to bear the burdens. On the other side, there are also many valuable opinions that are worthy of consideration. I would like to stress this. Those who are loud are not only demagogues; they also call for and demand realistic things, but they do not consider the objective circumstances and possibilities. They think that fulfilling our plans is only a matter of intention. These people also put pressure on us. Therefore, I believe that the conditions for implementing our economic and political reform programs have been deteriorating rather than improving since the May 1988 party conference. It is partly the social circumstances that have been deteriorating, and partly the differences of opinions within the leadership that make the situation more difficult. The party leadership should think all these things over.

The Central Committee has the possibility of solving this problem; it should evaluate the activity of the leadership, and if it comes to the conclusion that the general secretary or the secretaries are unable to carry out their tasks under the given circumstances, then it should bear the necessary consequences. This is a natural process in every civilized party. This possibility should also be given to this body. In that case, the party should try out another leadership, and perhaps this new leadership will be able to implement our program more effectively and successfully. A leader, and a leadership, should take that possibility into account.

Supporting Hungary

[Kanyo] We were all sincerely surprised by the warm welcome and appreciation that your speech met with in Davos. The little information leaking out from behind closed doors was also surprising: Our foreign partners approached Hungarian affairs with sympathy and considerable goodwill. What is your opinion of this? In your view, what was the importance of the Davos economic forum?

[Grosz] Anyone who knows about this forum will not underestimate its weight, role, and importance. It has become part of European and global policy workshops since 1971. I admit that I was also surprised by the reception my speech received. This expression of appreciation was not meant for me, but rather for Hungary, our policy, and for the spirit that I tried to convey in my speech.

I also highly appreciate the talks held in a more narrow circle, and this was not the first time that I heard Mr Genscher's concept, which contains highly valuable and progressive thoughts. Over the past 1 and ½ years, I have had the opportunity to discuss these ideas with Mr Genscher on two or three occasions, and I think that the FRG's policy toward the East—and Mr Genscher is one of its founders—is a courageous and extremely constructive one.

I see the value of Genscher's ideas as lying in the fact that they do not refer to the moment and do not strive to achieve momentary partial results, but that they rather reflect a strategic concept. This concept carries the seeds of the East-West policy for the next millennium. FRG Minister President Spaeth, for example, very openly formulated his negative experiences with the cooperation with us, and he greatly helped me to realize that this cooperation between the two worlds or our cooperation with the West are basically hindered not so much by the obsolete conditions in our existing institutions or, in other words, their bureaucracy, but by the fact that we have not developed a new mechanism capable of accepting this readiness for initiatives, this willingness to act, and working capital.

We will now establish a working group that will decide on these proposals in one place. I highly appreciate the idea of our bank president, Ference Bartha, who is now planning a managerial office that will provide services for investment capital, and that will assume the tremendous "legwork" that discourages everyone who wants to invest in Hungary. The experts have come to the conclusion that the main problem does not lie with our bureaucracy—this, of course, is also a problem—and these obstacles should all be eliminated from our cooperation. The main problem is that we do not have an institution that would take it upon itself to carry this out. Therefore, these consultations and conferences are meant to draw attention to the tasks ahead.

Matyas Szuros Views 1989 International Trends

LD3101152189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 31 Jan 89

[From the "Morning Dialogue" program; interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros by correspondents Jozsef Laszlo and Eva Vertes; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] What was left out of yesterday's "Radio Diary" program, due to a lack of program time, pertained to what MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros told Jozsef Laszlo and Eva Vertes regarding this year's political diary.

[Vertes] How do you see the 1989 that lies ahead of you? Will it be as good a year as 1988?

[Laszlo] For example, can we count on the new U.S. President accepting Hungary's invitation and visiting Budapest?

[Szuros] All indications are that 1989 should prove as successful a year in internatonal politics as 1988. Incidentally, right after his inauguration, Bush considered it important to speak on the phone with Mikhail Gorbachev. This, in itself, shows the difference in the extent to which the situation today differs, for example from that of 8 years ago, when Reagan was elected president. Thus, I consider it a very favorable phenomenon and episode.

As for the main processes of international relations, I reckon with the consolidation and, from time to time, strengthening of hitherto favorable trends. The shaping of Soviet-U.S. relations exercises a definitive effect; it is to be expected that the rate of development of ties between the two great powers will perhaps be less spectacular, but its advancement will be relatively balanced. I expect its content to deepen; furthermore, I anticipate another Soviet-U.S. summit.

The upcoming start of talks on reducing conventional arms and armed forces, which we may expect in March, has key significance for further progress. Furthermore, the socalist countries are realizing their unilateral disarmament measures. Following the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up [meeting], the first meeting of experts will take place. Thus, the favorable trend is continuing in this sphere as well. For example, the Paris human rights conference may take place.

Increasing signs of great-power cooperation already could be noticed last year. In addition, as for the elimination of regional crisis spots, this is also a very important trend in international life, and I believe that this trend will continue. This applies to the Middle East, Afghanistan, southern Africa, and Cambodia. And let us just give further thought to the Soviet-Chinese summit, which promises to be an especially important event this year, so we must not forget this, nor the highest-level Soviet-Japanese meeting. Advances are expected in Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Indian relations, as well as in Indo-Pakistani ties. These, in themselves, are quite a lot, even though this is just a sketchy outline of the expected favorable processes and events. So, I think that they are not few in number.

This is not easy to say here, but in today's world, the situation of the socialist countries, among others, may give cause for concern. This also applies to the internatinal situation. In spite of this, signs point to the world's advancing along the road of detente and cooperation. We Hungarians will try to facilitate this with our modest possibilities. I spoke about Hungarian foreign political activity, and I think that what happened in 1988 could be repeated in 1989, that there could be meetings at the highest level in both Hungarian-Soviet and Hungarian-U.S. relations. I would be pleased if President Bush were to visit Hungary this year. He has an invitation. I met him at the very time of my visit to the United States in 1987, and I think that in his person there also is a guarantee that constructive U.S. diplomacy in the international arena will continue.

Justice Official Discusses Imre Nagy Reburial

LD0602030689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Gyula Borics, state secretary at the Ministry of Justice, by unidentified reporter; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The year 1956 and its main political figures are preoccupying the main political figures of 1989, its leading bodies, and also most of us, while additionally arousing enormous passions and giving birth to and forcing decisions. One decision that has already been reached is connected to 2 years: On 27 December 1957, Geza Losonczy died while in detention on remand; on 24 April 1958, Jozsef Szilagyi was executed; and on 16 June 1958, Imre Nagy, Miklos Gimes, and Pal Maleter were executed.

[Reporter] The grave of Imre Nagy could be somewhere around here, but I believe that at this moment no one knows exactly where it is.

[Borics] Unfortunately, I do not know. We know where it is with roughly 99-percent accuracy. It will be necessary to get out the maps, and we shall try to plot it exactly. I very much hope that this will be successful.

[Reporter] I think that there must be information on this, yet cemetery officials were unable to give you information now, at this moment.

[Borics] A map was made at the time, and to put it in technical terms, some points of reference are indicated on the map. These will have to be precisely measured. In comparison with these, and taking these as our point of departure, it will be necessary to measure them precisely.

[Reporter] When will this happen? It was at the most recent session of the Council of Ministers that for the first time, there was talk of relatives being given permission to bury them.

[Borics] That is so. On 13-14 February I will speak with the relatives. In accordance with their request, and at a time they designate, we will carry out the exhumation. Until then, of course, we will also conduct an accurate measurement [of where the bodies are buried].

[Reporter] Who will identify the corpses?

[Borics] I would like to say, by way of introduction, that we have already spoken, in advance, with the relatives. They asked for identification; thus, they asked for medical experts. We, naturally, are at their disposal. The medical experts in [the Ministry of] Justice are prepared to do this; they will carry out the identification. Of course, the family members also said that they, themselves, wanted medical experts. There are no obstacles to this request. There are laboratories and people with expertise in Hungary who will be able to make the identification.

[Reporter] According to this, within days the resting place will be determined, because it is necessary to begin work on preparing the burial.

[Borics] As soon as the discussion, the agreement—pardon the expression—has taken place with the family members, we will naturally begin work, so that there is no need to dig up a large area unnecessarily.

[Reporter] What do you know about it? Do the family members want a joint burial?

[Borics] They did not say that they wanted this; they said that they would like to bury their relatives here, in the same place, in decent conditions.

[Reporter] By the way, have you not set any conditions on how, in what manner, this burial should take place?

[Borics] There are no conditions for this. A normal, decent burial; we will organize this. If the relatives, apart from this, want to set up a tomb or something else, that is their right, and I believe that no one will hamper them in erecting a decent tomb or in carrying out any other gesture that is part of a burial.

[Reporter] Nor concerning there being a joint burial, in a given case, at one time?

[Borics] I believe that there is no obstacle to this, either. It depends on the family members, on whether they want to bury them together or separately.

[Reporter] Since when have the relatives been asking for permission to bury them?

[Borics] To the best of my knowledge, they have requested this several times, but they were refused, in accordance with the legal regulations of the time.

[Reporter] Have the legal regulations changed?

[Borics] In part, they changed in 1979 because a legal regulation was adopted that year that people who have been sentenced to death and executed must be buried in marked graves, and that the relatives must be notified of the time of burial. Since then, the competent organs have followed procedures in this manner. In part, there was a change in that in 1988 a Ministry of Justice decree deemed that bodies of persons who are sentenced to death and executed can be handed over to relatives. Earlier, there was no such legal regulation.

[Reporter] This, therefore, is the legal basis. I believe that to date there was not merely a legal obstacle to the relatives being able to bury them in a decent manner.

[Borics] I believe that I understand the question. Naturally, there was not merely an obstacle in the form of a legal regulation; it was necessary for a kind of political medium, a kind of—what shall I call it—a political situation, to take shape, for this to be able to happen. I believe that we now are at that point.

[Reporter] When did talks begin with the relatives? When were they told that there was no obstacle to their request?

[Borics] We spoke, at first, in last December. I have to say that regardless of the sad event, they were extremely pleased at this; they thanked us for it. However, I had the feeling, although I was not the one who conducted the conversation, that they did not want to believe that this really could happen. However, we were thinking seriously of this, at that time, and now we are at the point that this can finally take place.

[Reporter] Are there, generally, common criminals [koeztoervenyes eliteltek] here, where we are standing in the No 301 lot?

[Borics] Common criminals, and political ones as well. As I have said, according to earlier provisions, no distinctions were made. Those who were sentenced to death and executed were buried here, in an unmarked grave.

[Reporter] I see here crosses, ribbons with the national colors, and wreaths. Are these the presumed resting places of people?

[Borics] Yes. The relatives, in part, on the basis of what they suspect, and in part, on the basis of word of mouth or on the basis of information provided by the grave diggers, have designated individual gravesites. But I have to say frankly that I am not certain that the person who is mourned is actually there.

[Reporter] Is this the first time that you have been to the No 301 lot?

[Borics] Yes. I have not been here before.

[Reporter] Roughly, where might Imre Nagy lie?

[Borics] Well, roughly where we are standing.

Roundtable Political Reforms Team Meets 10 Feb
LD1002141489 Warsaw PAP in English
1040 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 10—The roundtable team for political reforms, the third team appointed during the inaugural meeting on Feb 6, started debates here today under the chairmanship of Bronislaw Geremek and Janusz Reykowski.

Following are the names of the 36-member team: Jan Baszkiewicz, Piotr Baumgart, Ryszard Bender, Jan Bluszkowski, Artur Bodnar, Zbigniew Bujak, Kazimierz Cypryniak, Zbigniew Czajkowski, Andrzej Gdula, Stanislaw Gebethner, Bronislaw Geremek, Mariusz Gulczynski, Aleksander Hall, Jan Jachymek, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, Krzysztof Kozlowski, Marcin Krol, Bogdan Krolewski, Hieronim Kubiak, Jacek Kuron, Bogdan Lis, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Adam Michnik, Rajmund Moric, Kazimierz Orzechowski, Ryszard Rejff, Jan Rychlewski, Janusz Reykowski, Antoni Stawikowski, Adam Strzembosz, Jerzy Uzieblo, Jerzy J. Wiatr, Piotr Winczorek, Jan Zaciura, Janina Zakrzewska, Sylwester Zawadzki.

Roundtable Group Meets To Discuss TU Pluralism

Second Working Group Assembles
LD0902123589 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 0800 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] The second working group appointed on Monday [6 February] at the roundtable is meeting today at the palace of the Council of Ministers on the Krakowskie Przedmiescie in Warsaw. It will concern itself with trade union pluralism. The work of several dozen people will be jointly directed by Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Romuald Sosnowski.

Walesa Interviewed on Talks
LD0902130689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Taking part in the opening of the roundtable team on trade union pluralism, in the guise of an honorary guest, was Lech Walesa.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is Solidarity bringing to today's table?

[Walesa] The request that we should come to terms, as quickly as possible, concerning important matters, and mobilize the organization called Solidarity.

[Correspondent] Will this be your position?

[Walesa] Yes, because we see what is happening in Poland-Belchatow and (?also) other places. We are saying that we have to approach matters in an organized way and solve them...otherwise, they will jump out at us and take us by surprise. I think that we must quickly solve those matters which we are concerned or worried about, understand each other, and then more quickly mobilize the (?important Solidarity process).

[Correspondent] But you will admit, sir, that the type of situation that arose yesterday or the day before in Belchatow does not facilitate roundtable talks.

[Walesa] It is, unfortunately, (?that proof) that we must create, as quickly as possible, such an organization that will be responsible and will answer for such things, and will do so in a civilized way, that is, with prior information, with prior coordination, and simply, to solve this in an organizational way. And since it does not exist, well, there are such [?measures]. There will be more and more of them.

[Correspondent] Let me return to the situation connected with the strike. Do you think, sir, that, for example, all types of strikes should be suspended for the duration of the roundtable talks?

[Walesa] Yes, regardless of the arguments, yes, Lech Walesa requests that the roundtable be given a chance. This is not much, we have waited so many years, we can wait a few more days. Nevertheless, (?I think) that the results of the roundtable are not so very certain, but that does not mean that it should not be given a chance now. I would ask this: Give the roundtable a chance.

[Correspondent] You spoke, sir, of the results of the roundtable. What do you expect from today?

[Walesa] I expect those problems which are, sort of, unclear, on the part of the authorities and on our side, to be removed and setttled, and I expect possibilities to be created for the mobilization of Solidarity. And there are, after all, a few problems which are not quite so clear.

Further on Pluralism Meeting
LD1002010589 Warsaw PAP in English
0055 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—The 33-strong team for union pluralism, formed at the inaugural session of roundtable debates, met here today with Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Romuald Sosnowski in the chair. The first part of its debates was attended by Lech Walesa.

Pawel Byra, adviser to the government press spokesman, informed PAP reporter on the course of the session. Excerpts:

The teams first session today was chaired by Aleksander Kwasniewski. Generally, the session was an occasion to present stands on union pluralism. In spite of some differences many proposals were either convergent or concordant.

In his address Kwasniewski stressed that the team had received from participants in the roundtable a mandate for working out a concept of abolishing restrictions imposed on union pluralism, expected to integrally take into account the Polish reason of state, interests of the nation and the state, aspirations of working people and international standards in this respect, in particular the international labour organization conventions.

He also pointed out that union pluralism was a part of the process of democratization of the social and political life. From the point of view of the government the issue of elections to the Sejm, of electing a parliament which will reflect the various interests and views of Polish society, is of key importance, Kwasniewski underscored.

We do not doubt that union pluralism is possible in enterprises. This answer has already been given, it is positive, Kwasniewski added.

The omnipotence of the state, the monopoly of many state structures have been criticised many times. For several years now we have been visibly changing this status quo but we also want to clearly state that we do not imagine that the omnipotence and monopoly of any other structure, including trade unions, can be opposed to the structure of a modern state, he continued.

Next Kwasniewski suggested topics to be discussed, namely the forms of union pluralism, the principles of the operation of enterprises in the conditions of the existence of many union organizations, political and legal guarantees indispensable for prevention of repeating negative past experiences, mechanism of lifting restrictions on union pluralism, the principles for associations of people who are not employees, including private farmers.

Next speaker Romuald Sosnowski, authorized by the All- Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), presented a declaration reflecting not only the will to reach argeement but also to constructively work out the principles of functioning of the future union movement based on a pluralistic concept and needing a joint representation alongside full respect and individual character of its every participant.

The OPZZ does not claim the monopoly of representation of employees interests, and, the more so, of the entire society, Sosnowski said. He recalled that the law in force on trade unions envisaged a pluralistic model of the unionist movement though such a possibility had been suspended.

However, we do not treat pluralism as a goal in itself. In the current Polish reality its introduction should also serve the achievement of national agreement, he stated.

In turn Tadeusz Mazowiecki took the floor on behalf of the Solidarity group. He underscored that the road to the ongoing meeting had been difficult and long. He also assessed the political decision on solving the problem of pluralism as a great historic fact.

For us the main issue is the introduction of union pluralism, legalisation of Solidarity, including the rural Solidarity grouping private farmers, he said. Addressing OPZZ colleagues, Mazowiecki pointed to the great responsibility for shaping mutual relations. May they be competetive but non-confrontational, he stated. Future developments in this respect depend, first of all, on the way union pluralism is understood, on proceeding from a game to a frank talk and really honest shaping of relations.

We strive and aim to keep the status of Solidarity as a trade union, and the rest depends on circumstances under which it will operate, on the degree of realization of political reforms in Poland and their progress, expected to make it possible to really gradually but firmly create conditions for political pluralism in Poland by means of other forms of associations, Mazowiecki went on to say.

We will be defending working people against implementation of the reform at their expense, he declared. Finally, Mazowiecki suggested topics to be discussed at the debates, that is the removal of legal barriers hampering union pluralism, creation of legal possibilities of the reinstatement of Solidarity and the activity of rural Solidarity, interunion commissions in enterprises and issues related to, what he termed, small amendments to the law on trade unions concerning regulations on strikes.

Next detailed subjects were discussed with a model of union pluralism, the form and procedure of registration of Solidarity and possibilities of self-limitations of union movement in the conditions of socio-economic reforms among them.

Pluralism Group Ends Meeting

LD0902173589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] A meeting of the second problem team of the roundtable—that for trade union pluralism matters—ended at 1700. It was decided that the next meeting would be held on 16 February.

The [word indistinc [illegible] eeting was chaired by Aleksander Kwasniewsk [illegible] usz Mazowiecki, and Romuald Sosnowski. Th [illegible] ee people took part in the meeting made up of representatives of all the milieux taking part in the roundtable debate.

Aleksander Kwasniewski reported on the problems which were discussed at a news conference at the INTERPRESS headquarters. He said that on the fundamental issue of trade union pluralism, a uniformity of views prevailed.

Sosnowski on 'Union Table' Meeting

LD0902234889 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 9 Feb 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska and Krzysztof Rozner]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—"The OPZZ team comes from the meeting of the working group for union pluralism with moderate optimism. Many of the statements were convergent, they expressed common concern about peace in the country and enterprises and about working out a common conception of a model for union pluralism," OPZZ Vice-Chairman, co-chairman of the "Union table" Romuald Sosnowski told newsmen here today.

"We can endorse the statement made by Tadeusz Mazowiecki that our goal is competition and not confrontation," added Sosnowski.

Defining Chapter 5 of the Law on Collective Disputes as "gagging", Sosnowski said that the OPZZ asked its Sejm deputies to cause the regulation changed so that talk of wild-cat strikes can be stopped. He added that the method of regulating collective disputes under the currently existing law forces the so-called wild-cat strikes.

"We would like the table undisturbed by industrial action of confrontational character in enterprises, but we have already had signals of them," the vice-chairman said.

He added that "there is an urgent need to discuss the change of the 85th Article of the Constitution (on the role of trade unions in Poland), which is too enigmatic. A new article has to ensure independence and freedom of activity of trade unions. We are also in favour of amending the law on trade unions and the labour code," declared Sosnowski.

Asked if the OPZZ backs out of its stance on "one trade union in an enterprise", Sosnowski stated that it can hardly be defined as backing out. He added that "one union in an enterprise does not mean that it will be our union. It is for the crew to decide."

Asked if the OPZZ will pass votum separatum in case of a possible decision by the roundtable to give up the principle of "one union in an enterprise", Sosnowski said that the decision on the issue depends on the OPZZ leadership and will be taken in tune with democratic principles binding the OPZZ.

The issue of regulating the pay dispute and suspending the strike in Belchatow was also mentioned at the conference. The OPZZ representatives defined as scandalous the fact that the signature of participant in the roundtable Alojzy Pietrzyk, allegedly put in the name of Lech Walesa, appears under the agreement between the lignite mine's management and the strike committee, as there was no legal basis for his signing the document.

"We consider the conflict in Belchatow as a typical pay adventure," the OPZZ representative Franciszek Ciemny stated. "We must realize that the roundtable will be accompanied by such dramatic situations. But we cannot permit that people who, according to the law, have no authority to do so, take part in settling the conflicts. We are anxious that such acts do not hinder the conclusion of the roundtable," he pointed out.

Kwasniewski Holds News Briefing

LD0902225389 Warsaw PAP in English
2126 GMT 9 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 9—Today's discussion proved that the crucial problem has already been solved, which, naturally, had a very positive influence on the talks, said at today's press conference minister, chairman of the government Socio-Political Committee Aleksander Kwasniewski, co-chairman of the debate of the working team for trade union pluralism.

The decisions taken at the 10th PUWP Plenum solved the problem of trade union pluralism and, moreover, solved it in a positive way. Therefore, legal conditions must be created promptly in Poland to enable many trade unions to work both in plants and possibly in other structures, said he.

The debate gathered many relatively young people, between 30 and 35, who, among other things, opposed the view that nothing more can be done for our generation so one should create better standards of living for our children or even grandchildren. However, we want to do something not only for our children but also for ourselves, Kwasniewski emphasized.

During the talks, we were underlining that it is particularly important to refrain from conflict-bearing actions or strikes, especially during roundtable talks. Each of these actions undermines the credibility of the roundtable and the faith of people in our ability to work out solutions which could prevent conflicts in future, if we are not able to prevent them, now, said Kwasniewski when asked about the influence of the strike in Belchatow on the course of the debate.

We are not proposing that the right to strike be suspended in the law (on trade unions—ed) which is to be amended. However, we expect that trade unions, promoted by the sense of responsibility for economic reforms and social situation, will be willing to impose this restriction consciously on their own organizations. We do not want to restrict trade union rights. We want to obtain, within social consensus, a mutual consent: the authorities want to reform the state and economy in a way which would fulfil social expectations, but we expect that trade unions understand us and give us assistance in liqudation of tensions and conflicts which must occurr in the reformatory process, Kwasniewski said.

Mazowiecki Comments on Meeting

LD1002014889 Warsaw PAP in English
0129 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaws, Feb 9—"As for one day of debates, we have reasons to be satisfied," Tadeusz Mazowiecki, co-chairman of the roundtable team for union pluralism, said at a meeting with newsmen today.

"The proposal to legalize Solidarity by one legal act, submitted by us, was not questioned by anybody at the table, on the contary, I am under impression that Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski and the entire government side has accepted it for thorough examination. Progess has also been made as concerns the issue of rural Solidarity," he continued.

Both Mazowiecki and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for Solidarity and representative of independent milieux, underlined that it was significant at present that the representation of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) take an unequivocal stand. Since it still ensures from its statements that it opts for one union in one enterprise and at the same time comes out for pluralism.

In reply to the question asked by PAP reporter on the meaning of non-confrontationism Mazowiecki stated that its basis was the practical use of the principles of pluralism and such competitiveness that did not lead to conflicts. "If OPZZ unions accept such a plan, atmosphere will surely change in enterprises."

"However, as regards pluralism, the authorities are our partner as it is them who will make legislative changes. Naturally, the OPZZ may lodge a protest, also at the Sejm, in connection with this but I hope the it will not do this. In fact, pluralism already exists in work establishments. We are after its sanctioning," Onyszkiewicz stated and appealed to the OPZZ not to take an antagonistic stance on those divisions.

Many questions concerned the procedure of legalization of Solidarity. "It is not enough for the Council of State to reinstate union pluralism by a proper act. Since the law on trade unions of 1982 is still in force, the procedure of registration should be different than the one binding for the existing unions," Onyszkiewicz stated. Mazowiecki made a reference here to Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, who had spoken at the roundtable on the differentiated procedure of registration of unions.

"We propose that the law on unions be amended in such a way as to grant private farmers the right to associate in trade unions, among other things. Also the law on strikes should be properly amended as the one now in force almost makes it impossible to stage such protests legally, this causing a big number of unnecessary conflicts," Onyszkiewicz stated. Commenting on the Belchatow conflict and a related statement by Minister Jerzy Urban, Onyszkiewicz said that it resembled statements from 1981. "This is not the way to analyse such a complex situation, basing on incomplete data, perhaps, and especially during roundtable debates," he added.

What about foreign aid for Solidarity, Onyszkiewicz was asked. When Solidarity is legalized, its existence will not depend on such an aid any longer. This does not mean that we are not going to accept any donations. All legally operating organizations have a right to do this. In particular, we need office equipment and printing devices, Onyszkiewicz said.

Artur Balasz, participant in the teams debates on the side of rural Solidarity, said that he would not be taking part in the work of the team had it not been for the support of workers solidarity.

Team Participants Comment

LD0902235389

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic and Television Services are observed to report comments by participants of the second problem team of the roundtable which discussed trade union pluralism.

Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1615 GMT on 9 February broadcasts a report including comments by Solidarity's Onyszkiewicz. An unidentified correspondent asks Onyszkiewicz what Solidarity's reaction will be to the suggestion of an estabishment of a joint employees council. Onyszkiewicz replies: "We are aware of the fact that in an enterprise it would be good if in certain matters trade unions could present a joint stance in the face of management. The situation in Poland changes so fast that talking about what will happen in 2 or 3 years is simply beyond the political horizon. Let us talk about what is possible now. At the moment, cooperation is possible. And cooperation by trade unions in an enterprise is possible. One has to concentrate on this."

Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 9 February broadcasts a recorded interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who chaired the team's meeting, by an unidentified correspondent in Warsaw on 9 February. The correspondent asks:

[Correspondent] "You said that pluralism is a historical fact, but this is a fact already. What is next?

[Mazowiecki] "Yes, this is a fact, it will be a fact if Solidarity exists. For the time being, there is a very important political will, binding all the sides, to implement this fact. As I said here during these deliberations, our road to this table was long. The issue of the trade union pluralism is a matter which has been the subject of the national conflict since 1981. The year 1956 is also behind it, as are 1970, 1976, 1980, and therefore the solution of this issue is the chief national matter.

[Correspondent] "Everyone here agreed on this.

[Mazowiecki] "Yes. I hope so.

[Correspondent] "But how should this be done?

[Mazowiecki] "Well, first of all, the field has to be cleared. To clear the field means that it is necessary to redress certain wrongs so that the people who had been sacked can return to work. It is also necessary to clear the field as far as certain misunderstandings are concerned. They ask us whether... [changes thought] We want to be, first of all, a trade union, and it is important in what environment of political and social changes this trade union Solidarity will now act. We hope that in an environment which is reformed, restructured politically, that people will have associations, beginnings of political pluralism; this is the first matter. The second matter—and obviously every trade union cares first of all—is to protect the working people. And this is our task, first and fundamental; not only immediate, but also a long-term one. We will be a proreform trade union; but a proreform union of such a reform which may be accepted by the working people. And how do we do this? Register, legalize Solidarity with one legal act: our Solidarity and also Solidarity of Individual Farmers. And we talked; we talk about it. Our team has begun already towards concrete talks so that this can be solved."

Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1800 GMT on 9 February broadcasts a report on the meeting including comments by OPZZ representative Stanislaw Nowakowski. Nowakowski says: "On fundamental issues, the vital need for rapid progress is mutually understood. There is also understanding by the various sides for each others' problems. I am thinking not only of the OPZZ and Solidarity; I am thinking of Rural Solidarity, of the Union of farmers, and Agricultural circles and organizations. There is some kind of mutual understanding, although everyone is of course looking after his own affairs. And then there is the government side. This is optimistic. One the other hand, there is a slight fear as to whether the declarations expressed verbally will always be honored by actions. I have to say that, let us say, we have certain signs that... a well-wishing, I would even say fatherly tone like that I heard today from Mr Mazowiecki. Well, in the plants, things are moving somewhat toward confrontation. I am afraid of this confrontation. Today everybody is renouncing it—well not everybody said so; maybe those who like confrontation didn't speak out at the table, but this confrontation exists somewhere. This is probably the greatest threat to what we are talking about here."

Urban's 6 Feb 'Roundtable' News Conference

AU0902160489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 6

[PAP report: "Government Spokesman Statement: Replies to Questions"]

[Excerpts] Jerzy Urban, spokesman of the government side represented at the "roundtable," began his news conference for Polish and foreign journalists with a statement. [passage omitted]

Next, J. Urban replied to numerous questions from Polish and foreign journalists, including journalists representing the circles grouped around the Citizens' Committee.

One of them asked: "Are you pleased to see us at your conference?"

J. Urban replied: "I am pleased to see any person who wants to hear the views expressed by the spokesman of the government of his country." He elaborated on this subject by explaining that the presence of this group of journalists at the conference on the "roundtable" is a kind of compromise between their wish to acquaint themselves with the position of the Polish authorities and the fact that some of the publications that they represent are not legal.

Several questions concerned the composition of both the "roundtable" and the teams that will meet over the coming days. Will they include people from outside the "roundtable," including members of the "naughty," "militant" opposition?

J. Urban replied that the teams will involve a wider circle of people than that of the participants in the inaugural session. However, it is difficult to imagine the participation of representatives of groups whose programs reject accord, one example is being the Confederation for an Independent Poland, which is striving to bring down People's Poland, create a third republic, and incite public unrest. So, one cannot talk about accord with forces of this kind. J. Urban emphasized: "However, the question of accord remains open. Whoever wants to join in and expresses the wish to respect the constitutional order can take part in the accord process, in line with the principle 'what matters is your position today, not where you came from.'"

Many questions concerned Czeslaw Kiszczak's proposal of nonconfrontational Sejm elections. Journalists were interested in the details of the proposal and the extent to which the issue has been settled.

J. Urban said: "The concept will be worked out during the course of the team meetings. The government has proposed basing the elections on a platform consisting of issues about which the majority of Poles are united, that is, nonconfrontational issues. General Kiszczak did not give any details, because it is a question of working things out not unilaterally, but multilaterally. We have not described the idea in detail in advance, because we do not want arbitray solutions, but want to reach joint decisions during the course of discussions."

In reply to a further question, J. Urban said that if new unions came into being, the government would also be ready to speak to them in a partnerlike way.

Another question asked was as follows: Is the government of the opinion that the legalization of Solidarity cannot be considered before agreement is reached all other issues?

[Urban] "In their speeches the various sides emphasized what they considered to be the most important issues. However, it is not the case that discussion of the question of legalizing new trade unions, including Solidarity, would only be possible once agreement has been reached about political and economic issues. The discussion on this subject will take place at the same time in various teams. However, the repeal of the State Council resolution depends on the attainment of agreement, or indications that it will be achieved in a broader form than at present. This is because union issues are only part of what we wish to work toward creating jointly."

Asked for his opinion on the proposal to end censorship made by A. Miodowicz on the first day of the "roundtable," J. Urban said that one cannot make a general virtue out of the existence of censorship. Urban said: "In my opinion, during a time of change, when the possibility of conflicts exists, censorship is advantageous and practice shows that despite the existence of censorship, freedom of expression can increase, even at a very rapid rate." Urban added: "Besides, today there are differences of opinion on the subject of censorship. So, for example, we have A. Miodowicz calling for an end to censorship, whereas J. Turowicz has spoken in favor of maintaining it, albeit to a very limited degree."

Czyrek, Others React to Roundtable Talks

Daily Interviews Czyrek

AU0802183189 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4-5 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Zdzislaw Zaryczny: "One Should Never Say 'Never' in Politics"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Zaryczny] Mr Secretary, 1 year has gone by the since the concepts of anticrisis pact and proreformist coalition first appeared and the dialogue which crushed the obstacles to national accord started. You have taken an active part in this dialogue from the very beginning. Therefore I was very surprised to hear that you and Kazimierz Barcikowski offered to resign at the 10th plenum, an offer that was rejected. Why did you make this offer? Was it an expression of no confidence in the reform policy with which you are connected?

[Czyrek] You are not the first person who has asked me that question. It has been a subject of interest at many meetings that I have attended recently. How can I answer in a way that does not violate the rules of party life and does not attribute certain phenomena to anyone?

When I placed myself at the Central Committee's disposal, I adopted the principle that every member of the leadership must have the confidence and support of his party's highest body, so that his activity may be effective. As you know, the 10th plenum rendered firm support to the policy of renewal and reforms.

[Zaryczny] I would certainly not have asked that question if the subject-matter of the closed part of the 10th plenum had been made public. It would be very helpful if it were made public. It might make the proreformist stream inside the party leadership more credible.

[Czyrek] I agree, though I do not think that subject matter is a secret because members of the Central Committee and the Politburo have told the rest of the party a lot about it. Whether the subject matter is exhaustive enough or even satisfactory is another matter. In any case, I am sure it is no one's intention to make a secret of the talks that led to the 10th plenum resolutions.

[Zaryczny] The results of the 10th plenum and the subsequent "Solidarity" National Executive Committee statement have removed practically the last obstacles to the start of the "roundtable" talks. Do you agree?

[Czyrek] I should hope so. I think the plenum resolution and the Gdansk statement have not so much paved the way to a political process of dialogue—that process is already taking place, and with significant results—as permitted an official start of the "roundtable" talks, which seems likely on 6 February.

[Zaryczny] The public is very much interested in the "roundtable," but there is no information about who is talking to whom and about what. Do you not think the "roundtable" should be more open?

[Czyrek] I think society's expectations vis-a-vis such an important event as the "roundtable," which is meant to lead to national accord, are justified and should be considered when organizing these talks. In fact, there are plans to appoint "roundtable" press spokesmen. Apart from that, I am sure its participants will issue statements and make comments. In any case, I assume the speeches of the chief participants will be published.

The situation is rather different when it comes to the detailed talks by problems teams, known as "mini-roundtables." But here as well an information policy must be worked out.

[Zaryczny] It took several months for the idea of a "roundtable" to materialize into the actual event. What changed during that time? What do you expect from the partners today?

[Czyrek] A lot has changed. Some of the changes have made dialogue and accord easier, but I am sure others may make the work of the "roundtable" more complicated. Among the former category one must obviously include the plenum resolutions, but also the Gdansk statement, especially that part of it that talks about respecting the constitutional system and a readiness to act within the framework of the law. Such statements are essential if there is to be a constructive opposition that respects the system.

Among the factors that might make the "roundtable" more difficult, I would include the unresolved issue of the extent to which national accord is to concern systemic issues of the state, without narrowing the whole talks down to a simple establishment of procedures and rules of the game. And that is the basic issue. I know that inside the opposition there is a tendency to narrow down a final accord into a collection of vague concepts and statements like "permitting the legalization of," "permitting the registration of," "permitting free access to," and so on.

If in the end the opposition only calls for an accord on the subject of procedural matters and avoids expressing a stance vis-a-vis basic matters concerning the development of our state, I fear that a final accord will be, if not impossible, then very limited in scope.

Of course, one cannot imagine an accord in which everyone agrees with everything. However, I do believe the final accord should contain similar views by each side toward the most important aspects of our reforms, transformations, and development. This common denominator of similar views should be broad enough to guarantee Polish development, not confrontation.

The scope of political and trade union pluralism and the ways of attaining it, in fact the actual time when it should come into force, are another controversial matter. That is why the PZPR Central Committee stance contains the phrase "under conditions of national accord," because this accord is the basic condition necessary for pluralism. However, parts of the opposition believe in the opposite; in other words, they think that complete pluralism is a condition for national accord. We have to reach an accord about this issue.

[Zaryczny] It is very hard to foresee events. Some skeptics point to the emergence of dual social systems among work forces and artistic milieus. What is the "roundtable" leads to a third system? I mean groups who dissociate themselves from the party and from the opposition. Social life today is teeming with various processes that cannot be attributed to anyone.

[Czyrek] Do not forget that we are only just beginning to build a Polish model of democratic and humanitarian socialism, into which we want to fit the constructive opposition. Neither we nor the opposition have any building experience.

However, allow me to say that prosocialist and leftwing forces seem to learn democracy and certain rules of conduct concerning pluralism faster. In the meantime, some opposition circles have merely entrenched themselves behind anachronistic dogmas. They still say: "We (the opposition) still represent society and the entire people, whereas you (the authorities) only represent the interests of the ruling camp." Does pluralism contain room for thoughts like these?

Therefore, in our sociopolitical system, it is necessary to develop a proper understanding of the essence of pluralism and realize that pluralism definitely does not mean duality, but merely a richness of variations, which is a part of reality. These variations must not be obstacles to progress and lead to anarchy. These variations should provide constructive stimuli for Poland's development, using the points of view and experience of each side. In other words, pluralism must not be an aim in itself, something that disintegrates the nation. Pluralism must lead to, to use the Italian term, unity in difference.

An accord on the subject of confrontation-free Sejm elections should be the first sign of such a pluralism.

[Zaryczny] But will these confrontation-free elections, as you put it, not prevent competition between various election programs?

[Czyrek] They will neither cancel out a joint election platform, in other words everything that unites Poles, or lead to a loss of each partner's identity. The point is to preserve each partner's identity and achieve a harmonious selection of the persons representing the highest body of the people at the same time. We said in the 10th plenum documents that that kind of Sejm would become the spokesman of Polish parliamentary democracy.

[Zaryczny] But will the opposition agree not to go beyond that?

[Czyrek] I think so, because an accord reached at a "roundtable" is the best solution for Poland. I am convinced that the leading opposition circles realize the conditions that govern a historic Polish compromise. But will they be strong enough to prevent extremist elements from tying their hands? I personally am optimistic.

[Zaryczny] Is there a direct connection between the "roundtable" and an agreement on confrontation-free Sejm elections on the one hand, and a date for the elections on the other? And if no agreement on such elections is reached quickly, will they be postponed, or will they go ahead regardless of the absence of an agreement?

[Czyrek] I assume that Sejm elections in May or June are both expedient and possible, for the setting in motion of political pluralism in its highest possible form, in other words in the form of a parliament, and the participation of the constructive opposition in the highest body of Polish authority, would help solve all other Polish problems. How else can the opposition present its interests at state level and try to incorporate them into state policy if not by becoming a part of the Sejm?

[Zaryczny] So an accord with the opposition at the "roundtable" will determine the future of pluralism in our political system?

[Czyrek] Yes! Working out this accord, or, as I described it earlier, a programmatic common denominator, remains the chief task of the "roundtable."

[Zaryczny] Which do you think is more dangerous—a lack of accord, or simulated accord? We have to consider the possibility of a simulated accord.

[Czyrek] I rule that out. It would be irresponsible.

[Zaryczny] But it is not impossible.

[Czyrek] In politics, one must never say "never," because politics is the art of attaining what is possible. But seriously, in view of our conditions, problems, and dilemmas, a Polish patriot may think only in terms of real accord.

[Zaryczny] Let us assume an accord is reached in the end, although right now it is merely speculation...

[Czyrek] It is not speculation! It is our great national chance.

[Zaryczny] All right, but this chance is still waiting to be taken. I wonder who will verify the contents of the "roundtable" accord. Are plebiscites or referenda possible?

[Czyrek] Indeed it may become necessary to use these instruments of our democracy, but not in order to resolve general issues, such as whether or not there should be a national accord. I think most of society agrees that there must be a national accord. However, I do not rule out the possibility of applying these instruments in order to resolve other, more specific issues.

Let us take the Constitution as an example. If we worked out a draft amendment to the Constitution, would it not be a good idea to hold a referendum on it before placing it before the Sejm? Opinions on whether or not it is a good idea are bound to be divided. Some people might ask: What is the Sejm for if all it does is certify referendum results? Perhaps we could have the kind of referendum that merely establishes the will of the people, but lets the Sejm retain its powers.

[Zaryczny] The results of the referendum that preceded the prices and incomes operation are not very encouraging.

[Czyrek] Nevertheless, I can imagine a strategic economic consolidation or development program adopted by the "roundtable" or by the national accord council being the subject of a referendum. That is why we created this broad institution of direct democracy, in order to establish the opinion of the majority of the people concerning matters of national importance.

[Zaryczny] You mentioned the national accord council. In view of the possibility of Sejm elections in May and June, I doubt whether such a council will be necessary.

[Czyrek] If we treat the Sejm itself as a supreme national accord council, and that is how we should treat it, then it would not be necessary to create a social body with a similar function. But it is possible that in the early stages of pluralism, many milieus will feel the need for such a body. It would be a sociopolitical forum at which to discuss and assess the implementation of the accord.

One can say that this council will be something like a coordinating commission in a government coalition. I say "something like," because this council cannot be directly compared with the goals and functions of political party joint activity committees. It is best if the "roundtable" discusses and settles this issue.

[Zaryczny] From what you have said, I gather that political practice today is more open to various kinds of concepts, initiatives, and ideas than ever before.

[Czyrek] Because we are entering a new pluralistic system and do not possess any patterns or experience, we are "condemned" to open, bold thinking, which will permit the finding of the most effective solutions, solutions enjoying society's approval.

[Zaryczny] Solutions suggested by the rank and file?

[Czyrek] By the rank and file and by the top ranks. The basic question is whether these solutions will serve the supreme cause of Poland's welfare.

[Zaryczny] Mr Secretary, it is difficult to avoid having the impression that much of the party leadership's activity is geared toward the "roundtable" and winning over the opposition for the sake of cooperation. But many rank and file party members are asking if this is not an exaggeration. I have heard them say so at meetings. Would it not be a good idea to pay greater attention to the moods of workers communities?

[Czyrek] Perhaps that impression has been caused by society's concentration on the "roundtable." But basically, the mainstream of party policy remains unchanged: close links with the workers class and all major social forces in Poland, and an improvement of coalitional joint activity with our allies.

I do not mean to say that accord with the opposition is of little importance. On the contrary, it is of great importance. But links with working people and the best possible and fullest expression of their interests remain the PZPR's supreme goal, just like the inviolability of socialist political principles and of Poland's raison d'etat.

Geremek on Talks With Government

AU0902152189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, "one of Lech Walesa's close advisers," by Aurelius M. Pedziwol in Warsaw on 8 February: "Not Immediately From Real Socialism to Freedom"]

[Text] [Pedziwol] Professor Geremek, what are your impressions after the first talks at the "roundtable"?

[Geremek] Above all, I have the feeling that something has happened. We have waited for this moment long enough, one could say too long. Now there is a chance. Both parties to this dialogue are aware of how difficult the situation in the country has become and that courageous and risky decisions are unavoidable. If the talk is continued in a responsible way, it may bring good results. However, the way will be very long and very difficult.

[Pedziwol] In view of the first round of talks, is it already possible to say where the chances are good and where the risk to end up in a dead end is particularly great?

[Geremek] The risk of demagogy was demonstrated in some speeches on the first day, but not by Solidarity representatives. The big topics that we are facing contain obstacles that can be overcome only with very much effort:

—Economy and social policy: How can one develop a bold and reasonable program of structural changes in such a difficult situation? How can one stop the terrible destruction of the environment? It is clear that this cannot be done without expenditure, but how can one eliminate the lack of trust on both sides?

—Pluralism: The problem seems to be unavoidable for all. However, what could the solutions be like? It is not only a question of the Solidarity Trade Union, but also of the peasants' Solidarity, the Independent Students' Union (NZS), and freedom for associations and unions of all kind.

—State and political reforms: The government is exerting strong pressure concerning the forthcoming elections and has expressed the wish that these elections be held without confrontation. It will not be easy to express this in political decisions. Poland is striving for freedom as well as for respect of civil rights and free elections. However, today, during the talks, it could be felt that it is impossible to jump from real socialism directly into the world of freedom—but we must proceed in this direction.

[Pedziwol] Before the Poles go to free elections, the problem of free trade unions and associations must be solved. Do you not fear that this will be more difficult regarding the peasant's Solidarity or with the students' union than regarding Solidarity itself?

[Geremek] It will certainly be difficult. However, I think that the rulers are aware of the fact that resistance as in 1980-81 would put a very great strain on us. There is the awareness and also the fear that this can be a vehement, spontaneous process.

[Pedziwol] Thus, history does not—must not—repeat itself. There must not be a struggle, strikes, and provocation, if the country is to be saved?

[Geremek] Yes, and I think that there are such possibilities. I do not know whether we will reach this goal. The decisions we are facing are extremely complicated and we are just at the beginning. However, I would like to warn everyone against too much optimism.

[Pedziwol] What will the next days be like?

[Geremek] Three work groups were established, which will deal with the topics I mentioned. The groups were constituted on Wednesday [8 February]. Above all, however, we will get to know the decisions of the government, and we will present our platform for negotiations. We will try to make it a platform of decisions and not a platform of rhetoric.

[Pedziwol] To which extent will the public be included?

[Geremek] We want the population to be fully briefed on the contents and course of the talks.

Solidarity's Onyszkiewicz Speaks

AU0902135389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 6

[PAP report: "I View This Fact Very Positively"]

[Text] Following the inaugural session of the "roundtable," a PAP reporter put several questions to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, press spokesman of the circles grouped around the Citizens' Committee.

[PAP] How do you view the fact that a "roundtable" is actually taking place?

[Onyszkiewicz] I view this fact very positively. I think that in a certain sense it is perhaps a good thing that the "roundtable" did not begin earlier, because we might have encountered more serious problems at the very outset, such as difficulties stemming from the absence of a mandate to make changes, for example, which I understand the party and the government received as a result of the last plenum. What was important about today's session was the fact that all the speeches set out problems that have to be solved and did so without closing off any avenue leading to solutions, and I think that this provides a good basis for negotiations, and incidentally, that is what Lech Walesa loyally said in his speech.

[PAP] Was some idea or proposal voiced at today's meeting that which particularly caught your attention or that of the circles whose spokesman you are?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that what appeared at this forum, sometimes faintly and at other times more vividly and very clearly, was a trend toward restoring sovereign rights to people, that is—toward restoring the first constitutional principle, namely, that the Polish people are a sovereign force within the state. This was emphasized in various ways, but I think that everyone was in agreement about the general direction of change, and I think that this is very important. In addition, within the framework of this general principle, everyone accepted pluralism as a kind of mechanism that is needed in every kind of democratic system. For us, the question of trade union pluralism is, of course, a particularly vital issue, and in this respect General Kiszczak's speech contained the important statement that pluralism is not a problem, the only problem there is relates to the way in which it is to be introduced.

[PAP] How does the circle grouped around the Citizen's Committee view the course of the inaugural session? Do you perhaps also know what the reaction was from people outside the group that was present in the hall?

[Onyszkiewicz] We have scant information on what reactions outside the group were like, and I will not try to make any generalizations. However, I think that the Citizen's Committee circle reacted in the way that I have described, which is not just my opinion, but actually the opinion of everyone that I have spoken to.

OPZZ Holds News Conference

AU0902150989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "40 Minutes Later at the OPZZ"]

[Text] Forty minutes after the end of the "roundtable" meeting, Alfred Miodowicz and a group of trade unionists who participated in Monday's [6 February] talks met Polish and foreign journalists at the headquarters of the OPZZ.

Franciszek Ciemny, the OPZZ press spokesman said, among other things: "The session took place in a dignified atmosphere in the expectation that the "roundtable" will mark a turning-point in our country's most recent history. This belief emanated from all the speeches that were made, although there remain a large number of issues to resolve. These issues will be discussed at three "tables" of topics. We, for our part, proposed dealing with the issue of housing construction separately, as we think that solving it would be a way of greatly alleviating the shortcomings that trouble young people."

The journalists made a direct reference to Alfred Miodowicz's speech. They asked him what he meant by proposing the establishment of a Union Council of Accord among working people.

The OPZZ chairman explained: "We are talking about joint union representation at the workplace in the event that Solidarity is registered, which is, after all, one of the subjects of the talks. The question of joint representation arises to prevent splits among work forces and competition over who provides better representation or has more muscle. When the time comes, we should also consider joint union representation for structures above the workplace level."

Asked if the OPZZ expected the idea to be realized quickly and whether some agreement had been reached about this, A. Miodowicz replied: "At no stage during preparations for the 'roundtable' talks did we have contact with Solidarity. Sometimes similarities stem from common views on certain issues, and thus they can have a common application."

Asked about any fears there might be, Miodowicz replied: "There are great fears. We can talk and talk, but work forces may react differently, especially when the atmosphere in plants is highly charged."

In response to several other questions, A. Miodowicz said, among other things: "The Sejm elections can even be brought forward. The most important question is what the elections are to be like. In my opinion, they should be as democratic as possible. Everything that can possibly be done in this area should be done. I also proposed the abolition of censorship."

Commentator Views First Meeting

AU1002133389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Feb 89 p 1

[Commentary by Jerzy Bielecki: "A Step Toward the Future"]

[Text] The thing that some people had doubts about and the majority hoped for has become a fact. The "roundtable" has started up. Yes, it has moved off, and the future is now the focal point of the sum of the goodwill of the people assembled at the table, people who represent various circles and often differ in their views, but who recognize that accord is the most important issue in Poland.

A lot of tough, demanding work lies ahead of the "roundtable" participants and the people they have nominated as participants in the discussions that the three working groups are going to hold. This is because we have to be able to understand each other before we can reach agreement. Only then is it possible to give concrete form to national accord in a way that will satisfy public expectations and provide the necessary consensus.

Our position is clear. The party has unambiguously spoken out in favor of modernizing socialism to meet the needs of the times, to create a socialism that is not qualified and which is to be arrived at by realizing socialism's basic goals and values, such as humanism, work, social justice, and democracy. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to discuss and then outline a model and structures and principles for the functioning of the state and public life. At the same time, it is also necessary to win broad support for a model of the economy that would ensure that economic reforms are effectively realized in order to accomplish social objectives.

The programmatic and organizational proposals for further work that were put forward by General Kiszczak at the beginning of the "roundtable" session were unanimously accepted by the entire forum. It was an important moment in Monday's meeting. It was the first joint step, and that is worth remembering. This is because it means that one can entertain the hope that the course of "roundtable" work has been directed toward the future. This is important and provides grounds for optimism.

However, it would be ignoring the facts to jump to the conclusion that further negotiations and the work of the working groups and subgroups are going to be easy and proceed smoothly. It is widely said at home and abroad that Poland is striving to achieve a historic compromise. The word is unambiguous, but a qualification is required on this occasion; the adjective national—a national compromise, the object of which is the good of the fatherland and which is not just needed by the authorities or some elite, but by millions of working people.

This is the kind of agreement that the PZPR has been in favor of for a long time.

Agreement Signed on Belchatow Strike Suspension

LD0902180589 Warsaw PAP in English
1616 GMT 9 Feb 89

[By PAP reporter Marek Miziak]

[Text] Piotrkow Trybunalski, Feb 9—An agreement between the management of the Belchatow lignite strip mine and the strike committee suspending the strike proclaimed on Monday until February 28 was signed in the mine's repair workshops at 5 a.m. today.

Last night the deadlock in the talks between the mine's management and the strikers was overcome and at about 1:30 hrs the sides' standpoints drew closer to each other.

The agreement concerns the main issue at dispute, namely the postulate to raise wages by 30,000 zlotys for each worker as a compensation for the price growth. The crew gave up such a high level of pay claims and agreed to a rise of 21,000 zlotys as a temporary solution, valid till a new pay agreement is passed in the mine. The remaining postulates of the crew are also to be further discussed.

The signing of the agreement was a signal for the crew to start the technical machinery of the mine which delivers lignite to the Belchatow power plant. The shortages in fuel supply had put at a standstill 6 out of 12 power units in Poland's biggest generating station.

Technical Director of the Belchatow Lignite Strip Mine Jozef Kowalski, who took part in the final negotiations last night, said that the rise sum of 20,000 [figure as received] per capita agreed upon by both sides is the limit of the financial abilities of the mine and only for some time. Till the end of February, we will work on a new pay agreement, the director added.

Warsaw TV Protests Belchatow Committee Stance

LD0902190689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Yesterday the strike committee in Belchatow refused to allow a television news crew into the mine and refused to speak to our reporter. At the same time the strike committee allowed in the crews from Western television stations. We wish to express our protest. Representatives of some of the groups which demand pluralism of views in the mass media and access to television are behaving in a manner that contradicts what they are saying. They want access for themselves but at the same time they demonstrate that they refuse access to others and censor them. What is more, the strike committee at Belchatow mine asked our crew to leave at the very time when in our television newscast, and on television in general, we have been giving extensive coverage to representatives of the opposition. We believe that such treatment of our crews, not for the first time, ought to be discussed at the roundtable by the team for mass media matters.

Pabianice Factory Strike Remains Suspended

LD0902054189 Warsaw PAP in English
0230 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Lodz, Feb 8—A sit-in strike was suspended at the Pabianice Industrial Fabrics Factory last January 20. The factory's manager signed an agreement in which it obliged itself to present to the crew by Feb 8. A timetable of activities aimed at realizing the postulates it agreed with the strikers and a program of economic activities intended to improve the enterprises financial-economic situation.

Today the crew met with the management. Thirteen out of the sixteen postulates have been realized. Among other ventures, pays were corrected on the basis of the current financial situation of the factory. The gathering also accepted a timetable of making up for production delays caused by the strike, presented by the managers.

During the meeting another protocol was signed in which the strike committee prolonged the suspension of the strike till March 20. The enterprises management obliged itself to review posts in technological-administration departments by the time. At the same time the strike committees members undertook an obligation to start work at their production posts as of Feb. 9.

Workers Strike; Demand Better Wages, Conditions

Kielce Workers Announce Protest

LD1002134489 Warsaw PAP in English
1326 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Kielce, Feb 10—The crew of electric steel-melting department of the Nowotki Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski (central Poland) proclaimed a protest action on Thursday overnight, demanding a pay rise.

Representatives of the plant's management started negotiations with delegates of the electric steel-melting department at 10 am today.

Miners in Czestochowa Begin Strike

LD0902155989 Warsaw PAP in English
1410 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Czectochowa, Feb 9—Today, 466 employees of the first shift at the machines construction and mining enterprise Zbmig in Klobuck, Czestochowa Voivodship, downed their tools and set up a strike committee.

Those participating in the protest action forwarded pay demands: 25,000-30,000-zloty pay rises per month, cuts in number of enterprise's administration staff and improvement of working conditions.

At 11:00 hrs the strikers at the Zbmig production department in Golce started talks with the management of the enterprise.

Workers Strike at Wroclaw Factory

LD1002092989 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] There has been an industrial dispute at the Drumet [cable and wire] factory at Wloclaw. Workers are demanding pay increases of Z40,000 a month, and said that if their demand is not met by 16 February a sit-in strike will be declared. Negotiations with representatives of particular production departments are in progress. A management official said that the present financial state of the enterprise allows increases of Z10,000 - Z20,000 only. It is worth adding that no trade union members started the dispute and it is not connected with Solidarity. There are no political postulates on the list of demands. Production so far has not been disturbed.

Transport Workers Begin Strike

LD1002101889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] A sit-in began at 0400 this morning at the voivodship municipal transport enterprise [WPKM] in Piotrkow Trybunalski. All drivers at the enterprise are taking part in the strike and not a single bus has left the depot. The dispute between the trade union and the founding body has been continuing since the 25 January.

Three demands have been submitted: The main one relates to increasing personal increments by Z100 per hour. Yesterday's talks did not lead to an agreement. The next two demands, also relating to wages, were not discussed at all.

Let us add that the average wage in the Piotrkow transport sector is almost Z30,000 per month less than in the municipal transport enterprise in Lodz. The director of the enterprise claims that he is in a position to increase personal increments by only half of that (?demanded), but even this will entail the requirement to pay out Z52 million in taxes for exeeding the wages fund.

Dolna Dra Plant Workers End Protest Action

LD0902175889 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] We begin the afternoon news with a report by Marek Borowiec, who talked to Marek Kozicki, chairman of the Trade Union of Power Industry Workers at the Dolna Dra power plant.

[Begin recording] [Borowiec] Last night's television news reported that the employees of the Dolna Dra power plant, one of the largest in Poland, had started a protest action. It turns our that this is not quite so.

[Kozicki] I would like to deny that report, and would like to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, what the situation really looks like. Since 1988 the power industry has taken measures to implement the wages system and wage increases in the power industry. On 3 May 1988 an agreement was concluded between the federation of plant trade unions of power industry workers and the Ministry of Industry, with the participation of the power industry and lignite community. That agreement was implemented, except for one point, [word indistinct], which was not implemented.

It is point four of the agreement which reads as follows: With a view to putting in order the annually recurring problems of pay increases in the power industry, the parties agree that the Ministry of Industry, with the participation of the power industry and lignite community, will present a proposal of a system of creating assets for remuneration in the power industry for the coming years, which will enable the appropriate ratio in relation to the metallurgical industry to be achieved. The deadline for implementation's by 30 October of the current year.

The federation's representatives were engaged in constant negotiations in January on the implementation of this point in the signed agreement. By 31 January we had received no information from the community or the Ministry of Industry. In view of this the Coordinating Council of the Federation adopted a resolution that as of 6 February it will discontinue the collective dispute and enter into a protest action in 27 plants, that is, in all those plants whose members belong to the Coordination Council.

[Borowiec] Let's be clear about this: Your protest action is taking place with all the plants fully operational?

[Kozicki] Of course. The protest action is solely a matter of putting up slogans, as well as hanging out power industry and worker flags. I would also like to explain that we have not been fighting for extra money.

[Borowiec] So these are not typical wage demands, for example for Z10,000 or so more on to your pay packet. But you want a solution to the system formation of assets for remuneration?

[Kozicki] Of course, I fully confirm that. [end recording]

At 1400, in accordance with a telex received from the headquarters of the federation in Katowice, the trade union administrative board at the Dolna Odra power plant decided to suspend the protest action.

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting on Pay in Farming

AU0802200889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/2/1989—Gathered on February 8, under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP examined and approved a report on remuneration in kind and new measures to improve the overall agreement remuneration in cooperative producer farms.

Upon RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal, the Executive Political Committee approved the increase of the cereals stock for remuneration in kind as follows:

—With wheat and corn cultures, the fund for remuneration in kind increases to 14 percent for zone I, to 16 percent for zone II, from 10 and 12 percent, respectively, under current provisions;

—With vegetables, the fund for remuneration in kind rises to 30 percent for both zones, from 20 percent under current provisions.

Likewise, the entire system of remuneration in kind with farm produce has been improved as part of general remuneration.

As for the money remuneration, cooperative members will be further paid in keeping with provisions in force, in relation to the work done.

The new measures endorsed by the Executive Political Committee will lead to the increase of the cereals and vegetables quantities to be distributed by remuneration in kind, conditional upon the implementation of the plan, by 550 thousand tonnes wheat, 510 thousand tonnes corn and accordingly with other produce.

It was established that from the cereals meant for remuneration in kind, 150 kg wheat and 150 kg corn should be ensured, for alimentary consumption and fodder, for each cooperative member who works effectively, the family members they support and for pensioners of cooperative producer farms. Some 5 million people will benefit by these quantities.

The wheat and corn quantities left after meeting the consumption needs will be distributed supplementarily to cooperative members who worked effectively, related to the number of norms and the contribution to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of planned productions. Thus each family is secured a sufficient quantity of wheat and corn for their own consumption and for raising and fattening a larger number of animals.

Adding to these quantities are the productions obtained by cooperative members on their farmsteads, which provides for each family about 800-900 kg cereals per capita on an average.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that the new measures to improve the system of remuneration in kind of cooperative members and the recent pay and pension rises were part of the sustained concerns over the continual increase of all working people's incomes, the steady improvement of working and living conditions, to raise the standard of living and civilization of working people in towns and villages, of the whole Romanian people, in full accordance with the country's general development, the 13th RCP Congress and National Conference Resolutions.

Next, the Executive Political Committee analyzed a number of measures to improve work in animal-breeding, increase the head of animal with all species, mostly sheep and cattle, increase animal production to meet in good conditions the population's consumption needs and other demands of the national economy.

Bucharest Committee Plenum Announces Changes

AU0602083889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0754 GMT 6 Feb 89

["Plenary Meeting of Bucharest City RCP Committee and Session of Bucharest City People's Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 06/02/1989—The Bucharest City RCP Committee met in plenum and the Bucharest City People's Council met in session Saturday 4 February to take organizational measures.

Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, attended the plenum and the session, and spoke at them.

At the plenum, Constantin Radu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, was released from his office as first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee, and was given other tasks on a party line.

The plenum decided to coopt Barbu Petrescu, member of the CC of the RCP, to the Bucharest City RCP Committee and elected him to the city party committee's bureau and first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee.

Under a presidential decree, Constantin Radu's delegation as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest City People's Council and mayor-general of the capital was withdrawn.

Under a presidential decree, Barbu Petrescu was delegated to the office of chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest City People's Council and mayor-general of the capital.

Stoian Meets With Israel's Shamir, Arens

AU0902203589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 9 Feb 89

["Romanian-Israeli Exchange of Messages at Top Level"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tel Aviv AGERPRES, 9/2/1989—Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of the state of Israel, received Ion Stoian, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who is in Israel as special envoy of the Romanian head of state. The Israeli premier was conveyed on the occasion a message from Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, together with a cordial salute and best wishes of good health and success, of progress and prosperity for the Israeli people.

The Israeli prime minister thanked cordially for the message and requested that his wishes be conveyed, of good health and personal happiness, of success in the activity deployed by President Nicolae Ceausescu for Romania's steady development and the Romanian people's welfare.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's stand and outlook on some international issues were presented during the talk, especially as regarded the situation in the middle east. Aspects of development of the bilateral relations were also approached.

Ion Stoian also had talks with Moshe Arens, minister of foreign affairs of Israel.

News Conference at Soviet Embassy Noted

AU0802200989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1824 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/2/1989—A news conference was delivered on February 8 at the Bucharest Embassy of the Soviet Union. R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the central executive [body] of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, now visiting Romania on the 41st anniversary of the first Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the USSR, spoke about the current development of Soviet science.

The attendance included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Academy of Sociopolitical Studies under the CC of the RCP, the central press, the radio-television, the Romanian news agency AGERPRES as well as foreign press correspondents and attaches accredited to Romania.

Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, Bucharest ambassador of the Soviet Union, was present.

Daily Comments on Polish Treaty Anniversary

AU2601103989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 26 Jan 89

["Forty Years Since the Conclusion of the First Romanian-Polish Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Marking forty years since the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and Poland, the Romanian leading press of January 26 carries the congratulatory telegrams exchanged by the party and state leaders of the two countries, and editorial notes on the importance of this document for the development of the Romanian-Polish relations on multiple planes.

In the forty years since the conclusion of the treaty, SCINTEIA writes, the links between the two countries and peoples have developed continually. An outstanding moment in this evolution was the signing on 12 November 1970 of the new Romanian-Polish Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance, which marked a higher stage in the development of the collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples. In the development of the Romanian-Polish collaboration, a highly important role played the links of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, the leading political forces of the two countries. In this framework, a decisive role had the talks and meetings between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Council of State of Poland, when new possibilities to deepen and expand the collaboration were pointed out.

A continual expansion and diversification—SCINTEIA also shows—witness the economic and technico-scientific relations, materialization of the provisions of the long-term programme on the collaboration between the two countries in these domains, which finds an expression in the increase of the volume of exchanges of material goods, in particular in machine-construction, electronics and electric technology, iron-and-steel, chemistry, in an increasing weight of the products achieved by cooperation and specialization. The scientific and technologic collaboration extends mostly in peak branches.

Romania and Poland—SCINTEIA also shows—further develop the collaboration on an international plane, in the interests of peoples, of the complex problems facing mankind and works with the other socialist countries, with progressive forces for the achievement of disarmament, nuclear first of all, for the establishment in Europe and the world of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration among all nations.

Ceausescu Receives Credentials of Brazil Envoy

AU0802172389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1535 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 8/2/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received on February 8 Milton Bezerra Cabral, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Jose Sarney, president of Brazil.

The ambassador highlighted in his address the relations of collaboration between Brazil and Romania, expressing his country's wish to work for the strengthening and expansion of those relations, both on a bilateral plane and in international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his address of reply the importance of the summit dialogue that had conferred new dimensions on the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Brazil. Emphasis was also placed on the possibilities at hand for the further development and diversification of the mutually advantageous collaboration and cooperation to the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and collaboration among nations.

The credentials presentation ceremony and the talk held on the occasion were attended by Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, and Dumitru Apostoiu, presidential and State Council secretary.

Romania's Stand on Disarmament Reported

AU0702173289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1534 GMT 7 Feb 89

["Disarmament—a Unitary Process"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/2/1989—Socialist Romanian has included the achievement of disarmament as a steadfast concern of its foreign activity. At the current session of the conference on disarmament in Geneva the Romanian delegation have the mandate actively to militate for the concomitant achievement of nuclear and chemical disarmament, for the liquidation of all means of mass destruction, with particular stress on the fact that disarmament measures must be considered in a unitary manner, as part of a package of actions meant to contribute to world stability.

Romania's principled, consistent stand in this respect sets from the need to see reality as it is, not to give illusions to peoples, to avoid euphoria in consideration of the fact that although certain positive steps have been made, the international situation continues to remain serious and complex, that no desired progress has been made in disarmament; on the contrary, the arms race goes on unhampered, and all kinds of armament—nuclear, chemical, conventional—continued to be developed and improved. It is precisely by virtue of this unavoidable reality, and by taking into consideration the huge destructive potential of each of these types of weapons separately and of all of them together, the threat they pose to life itself on the earth, that President Nicolae Ceausescu formulated the thesis according to which disarmament issues must be approached in a global view, in a unitary outlook.

Such an outlook aims at the adoption of disarmament measures in all areas pursuing the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, as the main threat to mankind, and, simultaneously, of chemical weapons, of all weapons of mass destruction. As President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, peoples' peace and independence cannot be ensured only by eliminating one type of weapon or another. To do so means to make way to creating power centres which could impose their domination over the world. Only the concomitant liquidation of the chemical, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction can guarantee that such a possibility will never occur.

In the same unitary vision Romania declares for a radical cut in conventional weapons, troops and military spending, which are as many inseparable parts of the same process of general disarmament.

This profoundly realistic approach Romania favours sets from the action undertaken by a number of countries to modernize nuclear and chemical weapons, and, at the same time, from the qualitative mutations brought about in the development of conventional weapons. The sense of responsibility for the fate of peace, of the peoples requires that the measures taken in the field of disarmament should not be annulled by such modernizations and improvements. These steps—small in Romania's opinion—must be followed by new, bigger steps, by much more substantial measures. Of particular importance would be in this respect the conclusion, already this year, of the treaty between the USSR and the USA on the 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons which hold the largest share of nuclear arsenals posing the most serious threat to mankind through their destructive power, precision and capability of reaching any place on the globe. At the same time, in Romania's outlook, any activity of manufacturing new nuclear weapons should be renounced and any test with this kind of weapons stopped. Life itself renders topical, as a stringent imperative, the conclusion of a general treaty or accord, with the participation of the USSR and of the USA, of the other nuclear states—which cannot remain outside the nuclear disarmament process—of the non-nuclear states, which should lead to the phased-out elimination of all nuclear weapons. This implies the renunciation of the obsolete conception of "nuclear deterrence." It is difficult to speak about a new political thinking—Romania's president said—if the old thinking of nuclear deterrence continues to be so often asserted and if action is taken in this direction.

Pursuing the freeing of the planet from the spectre of nuclear destruction, the global disarmament conception promoted by Romania includes the cessation of any space militarization action. Romania sees as necessary the conclusion of a general accord banning the utilization of outer space for military purposes, stipulating that it should be used for peaceful purposes alone, under an appropriate control.

According to Romania, nuclear disarmament must be achieved in close connection with chemical disarmament. The current actions of modernization and improvement of the nuclear weapons are matched by corresponding actions related to chemical weapons. Precisely in consideration of the continued escalation of the chemical weapons. Romania advocates their elimination concomitant with the nuclear arsenals. The declaration of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in connection with the endorsement of the final document of the Paris conference shows that any decision on banning the chemical weapons must be part and parcel of a package of measures that should pursue the banning of the production, storage and use of any mass destruction weapon, nuclear first and foremost, with such a course according with the vital interests of the peoples, of the cause of peace in the world.

The universal desideratum of peace cannot be attained as long as, parallel to the fast nuclear and chemical arms race, the conventional or classical weapons have reached, through permanent sophistication, such a dangerous level as they currently make a substantive part of the destruction means that seriously endanger mankind, close, in this respect, to the nuclear weapons.

These are the considerations for which Romania speaks up for the concomitant liquidation of the nuclear and chemical weapons to be matched by a substantive reduction of the conventional weapons, especially in Europe and, obviously, by the relevant reduction of the troops and military expenditures.

As a matter of fact it is known that, in keeping with this principled stand, Romania unilaterally reduced as early as 1986 by five percent her conventional weapons and troops and, practically, by ten percent, her military expenditures. On the same line, the declaration of the Socialist Republic of Romania in connection with the Vienna CSCE Final Document stresses the importance of the provisions in the document on the forthcoming negotiation—within a new forum—on the reduction of armed forces and weapons in Europe, expressing also Romania's considerations on their way of unfolding, so that they may ensure conditions for all European states' participation on an equal footing and the measures agreed upon should take account of the interests of all.

All these aspects are encompassed in a unitary outlook that, starting precisely from the developments in the general domain of arming, either nuclear, chemical or conventional, considers that a passage to general and complete disarmament measures that should cover all categories of weapons, is the major target of the current stage.

Intensive Development Programs Reviewed

AU0702120789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0823 GMT 7 Feb 89

["Intensive Development as a Factor Consolidating Socialist Ownership"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Particularly over the last two decades Romania's economic policy was aimed at consolidating and modernizing continuously the socialist ownership by channeling financial and material means towards the peak branches of technological progress, apt to provide high capitalization of resources. The passage to intensive economic growth is viewed as the only way to bridge the gaps separating it from the developed nations, and make Romania stand among the medium-developed countries by the year 1990 and among the developed ones around and after the year 2000.

Sustained investment has always been accompanied by growing exactingness as concerns the most efficient use of each leu invested and speeding up the promotion of modern technology to all the sectors of the economy so that a wide front may be opened to the quality, intensive factors of economic growth.

The national wealth accumulated has grown from 330 billion lei in 1950 to five trillion lei at present, a decisive contribution being made in this respect over the period since the Ninth RCP Congress (1965), when nearly one third of the national income has been used for economic and social development. In this framework fixed assets flashed particular dynamics, amounting at present to over 3.2 trillion lei, of which more than 2.5 trillion lei are productive fixed assets. As shown at the RCP National Conference, in December 1987, each citizen in Romania, in his or her capacity as owner of the country's riches—by the side of the whole people—owns fixed assets worth in excess of 140,000 lei.

Great qualitative changes have also taken place in the structure and quality of the object of the socialist ownership over the means of production as the share of new or updated fixed assets has grown. Thus, over 80 percent of the fixed assets in operation throughout the economy today are the fruit of the socialist accumulation policy pursued over the last 20 years. Such qualitative mutations have occurred first of all in the most active part of the fixed assets, materializing in machines, installations, equipment, apparata, mechanical and automated tools. Over the 1965-1985 interval the share held by machines and equipment in the total volume of investment went up from 34.9 percent to 44.2 percent. At the same time, as a result of developing a powerful national productive potential, over the same interval investment in equipment turned out by domestic producers has grown from 66.8 percent to 88.9 percent.

Owing to the consistent promotion of the socialist industrialization policy and to modernizing the structure of the economy, within the total volume of fixed assets there can be noted a considerable rise of the share held by industry (from 31.8 percent in 1965 to 46.6 percent in 1987), construction (from 2.4 percent to 4.4 percent), transports and telecommunications (from 10.9 percent to 12.8 percent).

The profound changes made in the branch structure of the fixed assets, while expressing the modernization of the productive apparatus have led to a greater standard of technical endowment and have created new jobs and professions. Over the 1966-1986 interval, owing to the rise in the volume of fixed assets, more than 3,400,000 jobs were created, about 57 percent of them in the industry.

Also worth mentioning is the fact that throughout the interval following the Ninth RCP Congress national income went ahead of technological endowment of the industry, transports and telecommunications, which is one of the important aspects in point of enhancing the efficiency of the fixed assets in these branches.

Further enhancing the efficiency of the fixed assets is one of the priorities of the current five-year plan (1986-1990). According to its stipulations the average annual growth rate of the national income will be 7.6-8.3 percent, while investment will only grow 1.8-2.5 percent, which also sets forth the more and more important role of the intensive factor.

Over the 1986-1990 interval a decisive role along the line of improving the efficiency of investment is to be played by research, technological development and the promotion of technological progress. The implementation of new technologies will prompt the standard of capitalization of the raw and subsidiary materials, fuel and energy to grow 70 percent in 1990 compared to 1980.

LCY Seeks 'Emergency' Congress by End of Year

LD1002043889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0235 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 9 (TANJUG)—The idea that it is possible to get out of the going-on crisis in Yugoslavia by way of a unified Yugoslav policy and a battle for the democratic, federated, self-managing Yugoslavia and its socialist community of equal peoples and nationalities clearly came to expression at the latest session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the LCY Presidency considers.

Conclusions reached at the Yugoslav party's last January plenum contain clear-cut directions for solving the country's most pressing political and social problems. Therefore, it is needed, the party leadership evaluates, that political actions directions converge on implementing economic and social reforms as well as on preparations for an emergency party congress that should take place by this year's end.

The party's innermost top circles think that congress preparations must be based, above all, on a renewal of cadres and a further democratisation of personnel policy within the party.

At the same time, the party Presidency assesses, it is indispensable to implement economic reforms and the defined policy for solving the Kosovo crisis. By doing so, as well as by urgently conducting the defined policy on Kosovo and by struggling against chauvinism and other antisocialist activities, more favourable political conditions should be built up for finding a quicker way out of the crisis, Yugoslavia's top party circles consider.

The party Presidency is urging the party members to get engaged to the utmost in creating conditions for having amendments passed as soon as possible to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia of which its Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo are constituent parts and, so, by political action to oppose cases of misinformation and mistaken interpretations of the essence of such constitutional changes.

'Changing of Generations' in Leadership Seen

LD0502190389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1355 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav top party circles remained without 22 members as the latest League-of-Communists plenum closed last Wednesday, but a genuine shifting of the leading cadres was only started.

On taking into account that cadres are to be shifted in the party's top circles at republican and provincial levels as well, it becomes clear that a real changing of generations is in sight in Yugoslavia's leadership.

Among others, one-time Presidents of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Lazar Mojsov, Sinan Hasani and Radovan Vlajkovic, former Minister of the Interior Stane Dolanc, and the out-going Premier Branko Mikulic left the top party circles on account of the decision that the party and state functions be separated, but many others are to also leave by reason of the option that room be kept open for young and competent people capable of offering right answers to the question of how to get out of the now social and economic crisis in Yugoslavia.

The departure of the old and the coming of new politicians is considered an important condition for implementing thorough reforms as part of a renewal of socialism upon democratic foundations.

This has been confirmed by the nomination of candidates for new members of the State Presidency, in which the six Yugoslav republics and the two provinces are each represented by one delegate. The nomination procedure will be completed by the end of this week, but candidates who were not previously members of the collective head of state are already known to have received confidence of the majority in all surroundings.

Current President of the State Presidency Raif Dizdarevic has obtained majority support in his home republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but he declined nomination and said he would withdraw from political life because he had for many years held the most responsible posts.

Nomination was also declined by Milan Pancevski, member of the collective Yugoslav party leadership from Macedonia. He wanted more young people from that republic to become members of the top state leadership and occupy the most important places in the federation.

In the nomination procedure, the number of candidates on the extended election lists—including up to 100 names in individual republics and provinces—was reduced to from five to seventeen in individual federal units.

In Slovenia, which had gone the furthest in democratizing the procedure of declaration on potential candidates for the highest state body, those who entered the narrowest selection had previously had to state their political programs.

This has been assessed in the Yugoslav public as a broadening of political culture and a new step towards democratization of the election system in which the authentic will of the people will find expression.

Republic Party Presidents on Plenum Results

AU0702202089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report on "exclusive" statements given to BORBA by the presidents of the republican central committees and the provincial committees during the 20th LCY Central Committee session]

[Text] After the first topic on the agenda concerning the current political situation, the presidents of the republican and provincial LC organizations and the president of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army commented to BORBA on the course of the session. We asked them whether that part of the session had fulfilled its purpose.

Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium:

"We should wait and then say whether the purpose has been achieved. There are sufficient grounds to achieve unity. When things are bad, the situation in the country greatly depends on the political force which is the motivating factor. This motivating political force is the LC and the LCY Central Committee within it. If this force is in a bother, than the things in the country are bad too. We agreed to elevate ourselves, improve society. But if we do not achieved this, then these methods cannot be used forever."

Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium:

"You heard what I said in my speech. I do not have anything else to add."

Veselin Vukotic, acting president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium:

"I have not composed my ideas yet because I am not used to these sessions. However, since we are talking about some kind of purpose, then I think that it has been partly achieved. Different platforms were clearly discussed and it appears that there is readiness to search for a Yugoslav synthesis. Differences, above all differences on economic issues, should be reduced to concrete differences, because these differences are at present at the level of precepts."

Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium:

"We are all familiar with the assessments of the situation in society and in the LC, and our citizens are particularly worried about the fear of divisions. The 2-day discussion has demonstrated our firm commitment to defend the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], self-managing, and nonaligned Yugoslavia founded on brotherhood and unity and equality of the Yugoslav peoples.

"The expressed differences mainly refer to the methods of achieving our fundamental tenets. We should overcome these differences in the near future in a democratic, well-argued way, create prospects, ensure the implementation of reforms, and prepare ourselves for the congress in the best possible way."

Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium:

While our reporter was explaining the purpose of this poll, he said:

"Carry on with your poll. I will read it. I cannot say anything at present."

Petar Simic, president of the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army:

"I insisted right from the beginning that we determine the purpose of this session. Since the purpose was not determined and the aim not set, everybody spoke about everything. Had we set our aim we would have known where we were going and what we wanted to achieve. We can look for appropriate solutions only when the aim of a session is determined. We would then be able to discuss point after point, question after question, and search for agreement on concrete problems. The fact that the aim was not set indicates that session was not prepared properly."

Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium:

"The differences that existed were made public, but it is encouraging that we unanimously adopted a document that recognizes all these differences. At present, the achieved unity on implementing our tasks must be shown as soon as possible. The feeling of strong dissatisfaction among the membership and people must influence the rapid realization of this obligation. Another thing is that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should do more in terms of recognizing objective and existing differences so that they could be overcome through a Yugoslav synthesis."

Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium:

"You came too late. We are tired. (After our reporter insisted, Stojcevic continued) In order to realize the purpose of this session we have to wait a bit. However, the Central Committee mainly discussed society, and this is what the realization of the aim of the reform is about. We should demonstrate this in real life. The other thing we achieved was that we should start solving people's problems."

Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium:

"I do not not believe that this was the purpose of this session that has been called an historic, crucial session. The effects and qualities of the session will be confirmed through the realization of the unanimously adopted conclusions. What was positive was the following: an open dialogue, criticisms, and expressed differences. The greatest thing was that the majority of the participants called for a search for a Yugoslav synthesis acknowledging at times all the specific characteristics and differences in the country and the LC, and stated that was the basis on which unity should be sought.

"I must say that I am not satisfied with the session. I will be satisfied when the further activity of the LCY Central Committee and the central and provincial committees of the republics and provinces becomes unified as are the unanimously adopted conclusions. This would mean that this session is after all the beginning of a different kind of work, work in which differences are expressed, work in which political criticisms are made on the bases of facts and even different interests. Considering the fact that we unanimously adopted the conclusions, my understanding is that we now know how to work on our tasks in the future."

Plenum Termed Memorable Only for Its Length

AU0802153389 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 89 p 2

[Rifat Rastoder commentary: "In the Crevice of Differences"]

[Text] The 20th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee ended after a 3-day, polemical, and only occasionally specific discussion, held in an atmosphere of apprehension and great expectation which has rarely been so heated. Unfortunately, it appears that this plenum will only be remembered in our contemporary history by its length and the departure from the political scene of a number of hitherto prominent protagonists of those policies that are experiencing hard times. The warnings that, despite the simmering situation, one should have no fear or not expect too much from this plenum were confirmed. It has yet again been demonstrated that, however much we would like to, we cannot and will not solve the deep and multifaceted crisis solely with plenums or similar gatherings.

Despite obvious major differences over policies among some sections of the LCY or the concepts and strategies of how these policies should be implemented, it appears that on this occasion too only the necessary compromise was reached. It remains to be seen whether we are ready to have a break in this verbal war and the new concentration of visually polarized forces, or whether we are ready to create conditions for the final running start in the realization of reform tasks established at the first LCY conference last year.

In this context, it is very interesting that almost all participants in this plenum—at least, those who took part in the discussion, all 100 or so of them—were unanimous in their assertions that they want a unified LCY, a further development of socialism, democracy, and the total human conditions for a better joint life in AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia. However, not even this plenum has resolved the question of why there is fierce political polarization either.

The current president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, himself under the fierce fire of the battle between opposing sides, as well as the majority of speakers are of the opinion that the plenum was about choosing a path toward the same goal between hasty and antagonistic searches for a solution in the LCY—as the strong party of power, centralism, and command—and the reform of the LCY. However, there were also a number of those people who saw all our present turbulences as a struggle for power, or at least as deep differences in the perception of paths toward the same goal—this was mainly in the minds of several prominent officials. In this context, the appeal of Ivo Druzic to Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic was impressive in the usual way.

In the obvious inability to extricate itself from the crevice of all these enormous dilemmas and antagonisms, the party leadership is sliding toward the increasingly dangerous agony of opportunism and survival, in whose shadows there remain unresolved questions and current events, such as the situation in Montenegro, which were, to tell the truth, spoken of as essentially positive processes, mainly by the members of the LCY Central Committee from Montenegro.

The agony of the party leadership was in many ways demonstrated during the vote on the proposal that some members of the Central Committee be relieved of their membership. While during the open ballot this proposal was indisputable for the convincing majority of the Central Committee, during the secret ballot this proposal was partly, almost completely, questioned, despite the fact that it was more than obvious that the Central Committee needs a radical cadre renewal.

One must not be under the illusion that this would reaffirm the role and strength of the LCY as an historic leader and, without doubt, one that is needed more than ever. Bearing in mind the entirety of our reality, the impression is that those who think that the way out of the crisis is impossible without a consensus on specific programs which would give an answer on the main question—namely, how to continue after all outstanding questions in the country and the party have been resolved—are closer to the truth.

At this plenum, just like at many previous plenums, this was not done. One could fear that any further repetition of history could transform the LCY into a dropout, which would be increasingly out of step with the times and its own aims.

Dizdarevic Pays 2-Day Visit to Banja Luka

LD0902203289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Banja Luka, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, left on a 2-day visit to Banja Luka today.

During the afternoon, President Dizdarevic will take part in the talks with representatives of the sociopolitical and work organizations of Banja Luka.

Before that, at a ceremony held for this occasion, Academician Mladen Oljaca presented Dizdarevic with the first group of the Branko Copic fund works. At the same time Oljaca briefed President Dizdarevic on the 10-year publication plan of the Branko Copic fund in Banja Luka which will publish 60 books by the most popular Yugoslav writers in 10 groups.

The first six books presented to President Dizdarevic were published by Svetlost of Sarajevo.

Speaks on Internal Situation

LD1002021189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0145 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Banja Luka, Yugoslavia, Feb 9 (TANJUG)—The constitution stipulates that no one shall have the right to acknowledge or sign an act of capitulation of the country, but as far as I am concerned this also means that no one in this country may capitulate in the face of such a development of the internal situation which would destroy the unity, equality and integrity of Yugoslavia, the socialist and democratic road of its development and the peace, safety and tranquility of all its citizens, President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Raif Dizdarevic said here tonight.

So far as this Presidency is concerned, I can say that it will not capitulate in the face of these attempts and manifestations and that it will carry out all its obligations stemming from the constitution and law, he said in a meeting with politicians and businessmen from this Bosnian town.

On the situation in the country, he said that Yugoslavia is at a crossroads though it is not fighting for survival. He warned however that the course events are taking are such that Yugoslavia's very foundations might be threatened.

People expected the results of the 20th Central Committee session with a mixture of apprehension and anxiety, as well as hope, Dizdarevic said. I think that we created an atmosphere where people expected more from the session than it could give and their apprehension and fear was the result of the open disagreement, confrontation and quarrels reflected in or causing inter-republican and even ethnic intolerance, he said.

Warning of the evil of nationalist divisions, Dizdarevic said that many Yugoslavs wonder whether their tomorrow will really be calm, secure and free.

This is not a sign of despair but a strong demand that the interests of the country, peace and brotherhood and unity should be placed above and before everything and everybody, he said.

No one shall have the right to sow discord among the people, to ask them to back one thing or another, for we have already opted for the joint objective of living on terms of equality in this country, Dizdarevic said.

He said that the recent 20th party plenum showed up differences and points of contact which must be widened as much as possible.

Yugoslavia is a unified, socialist, federal and democratic community of its nations and nationalities and there must be no disagreement on this fact, he said. All differences and manifestations endangering these values, whether nationalism, separatism, hegemonistic claims or ethnic divisions, must be suppressed by all means of political struggle and, if necessary, by law, he said.

In this connection Dizdarevic mentioned Kosovo as too heavy a burden which must not be forgotten for even a moment.

Speaking about the State Presidency's responsibility for the earliest possible election of the new government, Dizdarevic said that some have come to regard the period between the resignation of the present government and the election of the new one as a time of semi-lawlessness, a kind of free-for-all.

This is best reflected in the price spiral and the upcoming government is going to have much trouble with it, he said. The new government must be given every help it needs and one should judge its worth only later on the basis of its performance, because it will take much time, energy and wit to implement its programme, Dizdarevic said.

Presidency Meets, Discusses Official Visits

AU0802162689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] An SFRY Presidency session was held in Belgrade. The Presidium adopted reports on the recent official and friendly visit by Rober Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe, and the visits by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, to Cyprus and Iraq.

The SFRY Presidency notes that President Mugabe's visit confirmed the high level of friendship and mutual readiness to advance and develop relations in all the fields. The talks on the role of the Nonaligned Movement as part of the preparations for the ninth summit displayed a great proximity of views between Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe.

The visit to Cyprus imparted a new impetus to the overall cooperation in the bilateral, especially the economic, field, and in the international field. The working visit to Iraq created good conditions for a successful development of the economic and financial cooperation. The SFRY Presidency noted that agreement was reached on the solving of some open questions of our claims.

Loncar Comments on Reform in Diplomatic Corps

LD0502112789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—New winds have started blowing in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs which, in recent months—often and against its wish—has been exposed to emphatic public attention. This, at least, has been claimed during an off-the-record conversation between Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and journalists. The reference is, of course, to the cadre policy which, according to him, will comply with some other criteria, at least as far as the powers of the Federal Secretariat are concerned. The emphasis on limited possibilities in this sphere is necessary because it is the republics which have the dominating influence on the cadre policy in the Yugoslav diplomatic service, especially so on the selection of ambassadors and top people in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs.

So, what is the Federal Secretariat ready and willing to do within its powers? Answering this question—admittedly in an unofficial way—the federal secretary claims that two esential changes have been introduced or are being introduced: guaranteed steps in service promotion, and the guaranteed time spent in service abroad are being abolished. This virtually means that young people distinguished by above-average capabilities and results will not have to wait for advanced age to get responsible jobs. Conversely, the officials abroad who are offering less than has been expected of them will no longer be sure that they will fully serve the usual 4-year term of office. Service movement, therefore, will depend more on hard work and results rather than on passage of time, that is, essentially, on administrative promotion.

It goes without saying that these efforts are making headway with great difficulty because they do not suit all the employees, among other reasons. Of course, some of the changes in the Federal Secretariat have been imposed by a new climate, which has not bypassed a single segment of public life. This climate has been manifested, among other things, in the public lists of the candidates already published in some republics, or whose publication has been hinted at. Of course, the purpose of providing a list of potential ambasadors for public scrutiny is not merely to satisfy the curiosity of the readers, but to usher in a debate on their moral and professional suitability. It is not known whether these initial moves will be taken a step further, and whether the candidates for the office of diplomatic reprsentatives—as is the custom in many countries—will face a test of knowledge and skills in appropriate assembly bodies before taking up their appointment. This would allow the deputies [abolished with the 1974 Constitution] to quiz the future ambassadors about their knowledge of the language and of the country where they would be representing Yugoslavia.

Whether or not this initiative is accepted, it could certainly serve as a valuable safeguard against bad appointments, regardless of whether the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs or the republics are responsible. If all these changes which have been taken or have been intimated are really maintained, the diplomacy will lose some of its easygoing spirit, but will acquire greater respect. To achieve this, it must open up even more; this is not only inevitable, but is independent of its will.

Iranian Arrives To Prepare President's Visit

Larijani Arrives in Belgrade

LD0802053689 Tehran IRNA in English 0529 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 8, IRNA—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mohammad Javad Larijani arrived here Tuesday evening at the head of a delegation.

During his three-day visit, Larijani will meet with high-ranking Yugoslav officials.

Talks will focus on bilateral relations and international issues. Larijani is also to discuss the latest developments in Iran-Iraq peace talks on implementation of the United Nations Resolution 598. Presently Yugoslavia is a member of the Security Council.

Tehran-Belgrade relations have improved in recent years and last year foreign ministers of the two countries visited each other's capitals.

Bilateral trade in 1987 stood at about $256 million with Iran having a $60 million trade surplus. Oil is the main export item of Iran to Yugoslavia. Iran imports equipment needed for paper, wood and plastic industries.

'Turning Point' in Relations

LD0802061389 Tehran IRNA in English 0555 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb. 8, IRNA—President 'Ali Khamene'i of Iran is to pay a state visit to Belgrade in the near future, said an informed source from the Iranian Embassy here Wednesday.

The source added that Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister for Euro-American Affairs Mohammad Javad Larijani who arrived here yesterday at the head of a delegation is to make preparations for the president's visit. Officials from the Presidential Bureau are among the delegation.

Khamene'i's visit to Belgrade will mark a turning point in bilateral relations.

Trajkovski, Larijani Hold Talks

LD0802162389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1520 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—Iran's President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i will soon visit Yugoslavia at the invitation of Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic, as was announced in Belgrade today.

On the occasion of Khamene'i's visit, Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Larijani today held talks with Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Under-Secretary Trajko Trajkovski about the two countries' relations and current international questions.

As envisaged at last year's session of the Yugoslav-Iranian committee for economic cooperation, Yugoslav-Iranian trade is this year to amount to 400 million dollars.

A change in the structure of Iran's exports to Yugoslavia is also expected. Until now, petroleum made up 75 percent of Yugoslavia's imports from Iran.

Iranian economists, who visited Yugoslavia last year, signed a number of contracts on import or industrial cooperation with Yugoslav enterprises in the fields of engineering, mechanical engineering and the motor industry.

Loncar Receives Larijani 9 Feb

LD0902160789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received Mohammad Javad Ardeshir-Larijani, Iranian deputy foreign minister for Euro-American affairs, who has been in Belgrade since yesterday.

The two discussed international questions, future activities of the Nonaligned Movement, and bilateral relations, especially in light of the upcoming visit to Yugoslavia of 'Ali Khamene'i, the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Developments in Sino-Soviet Relations Viewed

LD0402180789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] After 30 long years, China and the Soviet Union are on the threshold of reconciliation. Shevardnadze's visit to China ended with an invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev to visit Beijing in spring this year. Milika Sundic comments:

[Begin Sundic recording] The Shevardnadze visit to Beijing fulfilled all its promises, particularly the most important one: Gorbachev was officially invited to visit China, most probably in April or May. No one doubts any more that on this occasion full political relations between the two countries and, by all accounts, between the parties will be established. An agreement in principle on the Sino-Soviet summit was reached at the time of Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow in December. On that occasion, significant progress was made in talks on the Cambodian problem and on many other issues of joint interest, and this progress moved one step forward in Beijing.

Both sides confirmed, without any reservation, that the Shevardnadze-Qian Qichen talks were cordial and friendly, which is the best proof of the determination of China and the Soviet Union to base their mutual relations on full equality, mutual trust, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Such relations will encourage all the other aspects of cooperation, especially the scientific, technical, economic, and cultural ones. True, as far as the last aspect is concerned, one can say quite unequivocally that significant progress was already being achieved in the economic field as well as in the cultural field.

Regarding the establishement of full political relations and possibly interparty cooperation, on which Gorbachev will most probably insist when he holds talks with the Chinese party leader Zhao Ziyang, China and the Soviet Union will finally be able to say that only one more thing remains to be done: to nurture and promote this cooperation for the benefit of the people of both countries and world peace as a whole. This will considerably contribute to creating a more favorable climate in a broader sense of the word, especially in Chinese-Indian relations on one side, and Soviet- Pakistan relations on the other.

At the same time, it is here that one should try to find the framework of the final solution to the Cambodian problem, which has been a stumbling block in Moscow-Beijing relations for the duration of negotiations on the normalization of political relations between the two countries. Vietnam has announced—and there is no longer any reason to doubt it—that it would withdraw its troops from Cambodia by the begining of September, which practically means that all barriers will be removed, paving the way for complete normalization of both Vietnamese-Chinese and Soviet-Vietnamese political relations. The latter will gain in significance, especially from the point of view of Moscow's more effective aid to Hanoi.

Observing it from a wider angle, normalizing Sino-Soviet relations will change a lot of things for the better in the so-called great triangle, as well. New U.S. president George Bush has already announced his visit to China, and cooperation with Moscow will also most probably continue its positive course. In this way, the three big countries will have the opportunity—especially the Soviet Union and the United States—for a more active committment in the sphere of resolving regional problems, such as the Middle East crisis in particular. In any case, at least on the international political plan, this year has started to yield initial results, which is a great encouragement to all those forces in the world that have so far persistently supported stable and permanent peace in all parts of the globe, and not just in relations between big and rich countries. [end recording]

Kosovo Leadership Discusses Stari Trg Protest

AU0902143189 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 5 Feb 89 p 1, 3

[Y. Bajra, C. Ibishi, I. Begu report: "We Are on Tito's Road, Not Manipulated"]

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 4 Feb—About 2,500 miners and other workers of the Trepca flotation mine at Stari Trg gathered today in the presence of the leaders of the highest party and state bodies in the province, Titova Mitrovica, and their enterprise, in order to discuss their grievances and the problems preoccupying them at this time of serious political crisis, and to express what they called their dissatisfaction at the attacks being leveled against them in some media and by some social and political workers at various gatherings, and even at the last LCY Central Committee plenum, accusations that are unjust and without foundation, and which deeply affect them and demoralize them in their lives and efforts in labor for higher production.

At the request of the miners themselves, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; Sava Komadinic, president of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee Presidium; Bajram Selani, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo; and Sonja Scepanovic, executive secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, also attended the gathering. Representatives of the sociopolitical bodies of Titova Mitrovica and the Trepca combine were also present.

There Is a Way of Extinguishing the Crisis

Addressing those present, Rahman Morina said that you yourselves can recognize well all the political and socioeconomic trends in the country and in Kosovo, and are naturally interested in hastening political processes and improving the situation. A way out does exist, and Communists represent the force that must find a solution. This solution, before anything else, lies in the consistent performance of party duties, because the workers' class, just as before, sees its prosperity in Socialist Yugoslavia.

We can all see that interethnic relations are deteriorating, that Albanian nationalist activity is present, that emigration is not stopping, that many young people cannot be employed because productivity is not rising at the desired rate, and that living standards are declining. The tense atmosphere in many places has still not eased, and there are also signs of Serbian nationalism. No fine phrases or big words will extract us from this situation, nor will either vituperation or false complacency. We cannot tolerate the race in which everybody tries to outdo each other in beautifully describing the bad situation in Kosovo, and we will not join it ourselves. From now on, we will judge each other on the basis of facts, and on how much we have each done to change the situation. I do not think there is anybody for whose sake we must put up with a serious situation in a collective, a commune, or at the highest level. We must get rid of the idea that there is nobody better and that somebody is irreplaceable.

All of us, of course, among the highest leadership as well, must without fail work more for a better life for everybody in Kosovo and for progress and justice. We in Kosovo know best, and have seen and experienced for ourselves that no people can be happy if another people is unhappy. Our most important interests are clear: peace, freedom for everybody, higher and more prosperous living standards, and a better life. However, if we are to achieve these goals, we cannot go on working as we have up till now.

No category of persons, Rahman Morina went on to say, is immune from negative phenomena, and therefore from nationalism as well. The working people of Trepca, the miners, have never allowed nationalism to infiltrate their ranks. In the future too, they must be the most progressive section of the workers' class in Yugoslavia. You yourselves must settle accounts with all those whose activities give rise to intolerable behavior of various kinds.

Getting Rid of Mistakes

Continuing his speech, the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium said that it has long been evident that we have done many things incorrectly. The policy of isolating Kosovo from the SR of Serbia was mistaken. It has been shown that the constitutional changes are necessary. It has been shown that Kosovo cannot progress if alienated from the SR of Serbia and from Yugoslavia, politically, economically, culturally, and from every other perspective. For this reason, we too see the way out of the crisis in serious changes in the economic and political system, in reform. This is also the demand of the people and citizens, who are unsatisfied with their position in society, with our ineffectiveness, and with low personal incomes which do not motivate them in their labor. We see these same people standing in line for milk and cheap bread, and we know they can hardly make ends meet. For this reason, we must not be frightened of the changes we are talking about. The changes will not endanger people in Kosovo. They will not endanger one section of the population, and benefit another, as some people have asserted. This is not true. These changes must give us all a better life and faster social and economic development, and will strengthen self-management and the position of associated labor.

When it is a question of change, and specifically constitutional change, Rahman Morina went on, there are still people in Kosovo who think that the debate on this matter should never even have been begun, let alone acted upon. There were also those who resisted the changes during the constitutional debate, because there have been some very dangerous political insinuations, such as that autonomy will be lost, that the rights of the nationalities will be jeopardized, that the earnings of organizations of associated labor will be appropriated, and that the languages of the nationalities will be abolished. These have been spread on purpose to scare people away from the constitutional changes. On the other hand, there have also been those who have agitated for the removal of autonomy. I emphasize most strongly that this is not the policy of the LCY, and must not become grounds for destructive division and confrontation among people.

At this difficult time, when particularly in Kosovo there are disagreements and misunderstandings, tensions, and signs of intolerance, we have the duty of finding solutions in relation to the SR of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces within it, finding those solutions by which each republic and province will exercise the role and function that belongs to it. Any fear of a stronger tie between the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and its republic is irrational. Stronger ties will strengthen the entire Yugoslav community, and in this instance neither economic nor cultural rights will be violated, nor the political rights of the nationalities, nor their national identity.

Gatherings Deepen Mistrust

I wish to say a few words in connection with the protest gatherings and demonstrations that took place in November, he said, in view of the fact that they started here and that interethnic divisions and distrust in Kosovo have deepened even further since these events. The assessments of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee and the preliminary assessments of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee state that "a large number of citizens, especially workers, with good intentions and without nationalist motives, followed the organizers, because, as a result of errors in the political work of the provincial LC and SAWP, they were persuaded that the leadership of the LC had been held to account on the basis of unjust pressure on cadres; in this they were not clearly informed, with evidence and sound arguments, about the ever-deteriorating situation in the province, and of the fact that failures to implement LCY policy must without fail be held to account, because this was the clear and unambiguous stand of the 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee Plenums." In no official assessment, in other words not in that of the Serbian LC Central Committee nor that of the LCY Central Committee, have the miners and workers who gathered on the first days been classed as enemies or nationalists.

We as Communists are obliged to draw a clear line of demarcation and say that what happened, in the final analysis, was resistance to the implementation of the decisions of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum concerning the responsibility of the Kosovo leadership, and was resistance to the constitutional changes, while the protests were transformed into demonstrations at the moment when hostile slogans were heard. I repeat that nobody in any assessment has called the workers' class and miners of Trepca nationalists. Do not allow anybody to manipulate you, Rahman Morina said.

I do not think that those people wished well, least of all to the Albanian people, when they were persuaded that ways toward solutions were not to be found in the cadre changes following the warning of the LCY Central Committee and its assessment of the deterioration of the Kosovo situation. Do we need stronger arguments than those we see around us every day? The desire of the majority of Albanians is for an end and solution to our problems, above all an end to counterrevolutionary activity. This is their hope, as well as that of everybody else who lives in Kosovo.

Rahman Morina said among other things that we will not abandon the implementation of the conclusions of the 9th, 16th, and 17th LCY Central Committee Plenums, or those of the most recent one. We will implement them, because this is in the interests of all of us. I am convinced that the miners and workers of Trepca will do everything to ensure that Kosovo will not be a factor of weakness in Yugoslavia, but one of strength.

The Miners Are Not an Apple of Discord, But a Bridge of Friendship

To show that they are on Tito's road, the Stari Trg miners, at the start of the gathering, rose to their feet and shouted "Tito—Party." Burhan Kavaja, manager of this organization of associated labor, opened the gathering by reporting labor and production trends.

Juliana Gashiq, chairman of the LC Action Conference of the collective, then informed those present about the course of yesterday's gathering and the demands presented by the miners. However, she said, the media had spread partial truths about this gathering, although there had also been correct reporting. For this reason, she asked journalists to be objective and to write realistically.

Miners then mounted the rostrum one after another, and spoke about many matters preoccupying them. They spoke about the miners' splendid tradition of labor, said that they are on Tito's road, and that nobody can divert them from it or manipulate them. However, they are worried because worse and worse things are being said about them every day, and because their mass gatherings have been called demonstrations, although it is well-known that they really marched to Pristina merely to give support to the LCY leadership and to the Kosovo leadership so that they should not work under pressure from anybody, and so that the question of responsibility should be considered and analyzed in a democratic way. Yet these gatherings with their revolutionary slogans were called nationalist and anti-Yugoslav, while the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins, where even weapons were demanded, were called meetings of solidarity and brotherhood and unity.

Xhafer Salihu said that we were recently surprised by the demand by young people in the SR of Serbia that the number of students in Kosovo should be reduced by 50 percent and that the Kosovo Writers League should be abolished. This news, he said, is appalling for Albanian young people, because they want to restrict something that is close to their hearts—education. He then asked what the state authorities are doing in not reacting to proposals of this kind. In some Kosovo villages, the Serbs are not allowing Albanians to live alongside them, and, what is most ridiculous, in Priluzje they have demanded that Albanian children should not go to school together with Serbian and Montenegrin children. There is the alarming view that Albanian mothers, by giving birth to many children, are giving birth to irredentists, when it is well-known that in fact their sons and daughters have sacrificed their lives for freedom and equality.

I am convinced, Xhafer Salihu said, that the two associations in Kosovo Polje are resisting the highest party standpoints. The LCY should take steps and not allow anybody to sully its dignity.

We are in favor of reform, but not reforms that take us back 20 years, reforms that assimilate us, and change the names of schools and institutions.

Enver Ismaili said that modesty and honor had always been miners' virtues and that today they do not want to become an apple of discord, but a strong bridge of friendship and equality. He rejected the labels of nationalist and irredentist that they had been given, because it is well-known that the workers' class has a brilliant, revolutionary history. Tahir Salihu added that the workers' class had always supported Tito's Yugoslavia.

Sefedin Istrefi and some other speakers asked why Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukriu did not come and talk with the miners. They then disagreed with Ali Sukkriu's speech at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum.

Esat Jusufi, Osman Veliu, Sheme Voca, Hakif Beqiri, Xhavit Peci, and others also spoke about many issues. Many asked why the opinion of the base is not consulted when high-level cadres are selected. Other miners presented similar demands, also demanding other explanations regarding the policies of the cadres leading the province.

The miner Adem Kumnova spoke solely in Serbo-Croatian and asked colleagues of other nationalities to take the floor so that their views could be heard. The resignations from the LCY on the part of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are a desertion of the front. We must work and live together in mutual understanding and tolerance, because this is the only way we can overcome the economic and political crisis.

Hakif Beqiri, Jusuf Peci, and Nebih Ferizi demanded that Milorad Laketic, member of the management board, and Remzi Cullumi and Miodrag Dragosavac should be called to account, because at different gatherings and in statements to the media they had insulted the miners, calling them demonstrators who have been manipulated. They have done this without any facts or evidence and have forgotten the sins they have committed themselves in this labor organization. The miners at the same time demanded that certain journalists be called to account for using any means to insult the miners and the Albanian nationality in the media.

Let Us Trust Progressive Forces Led by the LCY

There has never been and will never be a place for nationalism at Trepca, Bajram Selani, member of the Kosovo Presidency, said at the start of his speech. We must combat nationalist tendencies with common labor and mobilization. It is a duty and honor for the Albanians to be the first to combat Albanian nationalism, but it is at the same time a duty and honor for the Serbs to combat nationalism in their own ranks, and for all the other peoples and nationalities of our country to do the same. There is no alternative for any of us other than common labor and life in Tito's Yugoslvaia, whose foundations as an equal community of all peoples and nationalities were laid at the meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia. All other alternatives, and especially those leading to quarrels and confrontation among the peoples and the destruction of this Yugoslavia are unacceptable and must be fought against.

Bajram Selani went on to say that the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum gave a clear answer: The forces that seek to destroy Tito's Yugoslavia will be fought with determination. Let us therefore deal with the conclusions of this and earlier plenums, and not with who says what, how so-and-so speaks, and what he says. On this matter, I am sure there will be differentiation in the relevant bodies. Therefore, let us trust progressive forces led by the LC, because this is the only way we can win the battle we have begun and overcome the crisis in which we find ourselves at present.

Talking about the constitutional changes, Bajram Selani said that they will be carried out according to the stands of the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY Presidency on overcoming the crisis as fast as possible. Agreement has been reached on the majority of issues, but there are still two or three open questions on which we will soon achieve harmony. The position of the socialist autonomous provinces will not be imperiled, because they will remain part of the SR of Serbia and constituent elements of Federal Yugoslavia, just as hitherto. In response to some views concerning cadre policy in the province, Bajram Selani said that we should wait a little to see how the new leadership works, and then we can call them to account. As for Azem Vlasi, he said that he had not been removed from the LC and the political scene, but will fight alongside us just as he has done up till now. Concerning the events of November, he said that only a preliminary assessment has so far been issued, and that analyses will be carried out among the communes and at province level on 13 February, and the proper assessment made. Nevertheless, it has nowhere been said that the miners were demonstrators, Bajram Selani said in conclusion.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Dismissals Recommended

LD0302190989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—On the basis of the powers vested in it, the Commission for Cadre Issues of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina has considered the responsibility (or absence of it) of the republican cadres involved in the Neum scandal, and has prepared for the assembly session on 21 February a report of 25 closely typed pages with suggested accountability measures for mistakes and illegal actions in acquiring plots and credits for the construction of villas in that little coastal town.

Of 17 senior officials whose election or appointment is in the hands of the republican assembly, the commission has established that the following must be relieved of their duties for reasons of accountability: Avdo Campar, adviser in the republican assembly; Blago Dodig, president of the Higher Court in Mostar; Petar Jelcic, member of the Council of the Republic; Vinko Radisic, a member of the delegation in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly and a delegate in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the republican assembly; Nikola Stojanovic, member of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Mirko Vranica, member of the Council of the Republic; and Bozo Tadic, member of the delegation in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces and a delegate in the Socio-Political Chamber. The commission also established the same degree of subjective and objective responsibility in the case of Savo Cecur, former president of the republican assembly, but he holds no office now, and the commission believes that his responsibility is in the area of other organs and organizations.

In the group of senior officials who are elected or appointed by the assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, both types of responsibility were also established for Alija Latic, a judge of the Republican Constitutional Court, and the commission has suggested that the court examine his status in light of the documentation provided by the commission. [passage omitted]

Nine senior official involved as far as the cadres implicated in the Neum scandal are concerned, where election or appointment was in the hands of the republican assembly, or where the assembly put forward its views prior to their appointment. The commission has established that there are grounds for establishing a degree of responsibility. They are Mato Andric, Hazim Hasic, Ibrahim Ibrahimovic, Ivica Lovric, Drago Malesevic, Munir Meshivoic, Alija Tancica, Gojko Ubiparip, and Dusko Zgonjanin. They have acquired their retirement pension rights and hold no office. The degree of their accountability, the commission believes, and appropriate sanctions should be discussed in appropriate state organs or by the organs of sociopolitical communities of which they are members.

As for the accountability of Ante Budimir, Ljubo Dragicevic, Subjija Gavranovic, Todo Kurtovic, Miljan Mandic, Resid Music, Pero Obad, Mirza Selimovic, Mensur Smailovic and Mirko Simic—senior officials who are elected by other organs and organizations, although the republican assembly takes part in the consultations—the commission proposes that these organs should establish the degree of their responsibility and institute proceedings for their dismissal, replacement, and recall. [passage omitted]

Prosenc Speaks on Danger of Majority Rule

AU0402152089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 89 p 5

[Veselin Simonovic report: "The Dangers of Majority Rule"]

[Text] We have to take a stand on the initiative to convene an extraordinary LCY congress. Such an initiative will probably be reiterated at the LCY Central Committee session. During the debates we have had so far, we decided to begin preparations for the regular congress immediately, and to accelerate these preparations so that the congress can be held earlier, but there is no need for it to be an extraordinary congress. The basis for determining the number of delegates should be the republican organizations [equally represented] and not how many members each organization has. We are in favor of holding republican and provincial congresses before a Yugoslav congress. The program on which the congress will be based seems to me to be of primary importance. We shall play an equal and creative role in devising this program.

This is part of the speech Milos Prosenc, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia, made at the latest session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia. We asked him to expound for BORBA on his assertion that the basis for determining the number of delegates should be the republican organizations and not how many members each organization has.

I said in my speech that we in the LC of Slovenia are of the opinion that one should start preparations for the regular congress immediately, and that there is no need to hold an extraordinary congress. We have given reasons for this many times, Prosenc points out. I also said that the basis for determining the number of delegates should now be the republican organizations and not how many members they have. This, of course, is a matter to be discussed, particularly during the debates on the amendments to the LCY Statute.

What is the essence of this admonition, asked Prosenc, who then said: The LCY Statute says that the independence of members of republican and provincial organizations within the united LCY is expressed in their equal positions, rights, and obligations in forming and implementing LCY policy. Therefore, republican LC organizations are not mechanical parts of the LCY, but, Prosenc goes on to say, equal and creative organizations without which it would be impossible to create an LC policy in a democratic way and without which the principle of democratic centralism would become unfeasible.

Essential directions and decisions have to be adopted throughout the entire LC organization in cooperation with and under the influence of the LC members and their basic organizations, not only in forums and as a result of their polemics. Therefore, because of the principle involved on the equal position of republican and provincial LC organizations within a united LCY, the policy at the congress must not be established or formulated only on the basis of the number of members, because in that case a majority would be deciding on policies in the LC as well.

If decisions are made in the entire LCY, in the top leaderships, or at the congress on the basis of the convincingness of the programs and the reasoning which supports those programs, such a danger will no longer exist. Policy will undergo democratic decisionmaking and the danger of majority decisionmaking will be less. This is why I did not ask this question categorically, nor pushed it aside definitely, because the problem has many aspects and one must therefore see all the reasons, views, and differences. This must not be interpreted as a matter of prestige or in some similar way. All this depends very much on how one interprets the transformation of the LC: Will it go back to being a monolithic party or move further toward becoming a movement within the political system? In this context, the meaning of the term, federalization of the LCY, should be cleared up, as well as to what extent it is reasonable to connect federalization to the role of the republican LC organizations and unacceptable when deviating from the democratically formed and accepted LCY policy.

Social Democratic Alliance Program Discussed

LD0502105589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0123 GMT 4 Feb 89

[By Katarina Novak]

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—We will set up the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia confident that every citizen in Slovenia is entitled to live in freedom and prosperity, elect and recall their leaders in accordance with preestablished democratic procedures, and work in peace and without fear of the arbitrary encroachments on power. This is the opening sentence of the program of the alliance, whose founding is scheduled for 16 February in Ljubljana.

The Slovenian Democratic Alliance was set up a month ago; the Peasant Alliance was set up in mid-1988—and under its aegis, the Peasant Youth Alliance—spring 1989 will be punctuated by dynamic events. There is fairly great interest among the public in both alliances, partly as a result of the perception that they are new parties, which some people interpret as the creation of political pluralism. However, they are not parties; they are new alliances and movements ready to operate within the Socialist Alliance and open up the political area, with the proviso that they want to preserve their autonomy within the framework of seeking reform of the SAWP. As Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Slovene SAWP said recently, the Socialist Alliance requires new ideas and new movements. The alliance wants to update and renew its organization. This, no doubt, represents an important point of contact. A shared interest is involved here which the socialist alliance must take advantage of in order to change the practice, which is quite rightly criticized.

Semolic added that the activity of the new alliances and social movements within the SAWP can become a significant correction of the conduct of the biggest front organization. Judging by the discussion during a meeting between founders of the Slovenian Democratic Alliance as well as by the program statement by the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, the criticism emanating from some parts of Yugoslavia that these reflect egotism and separatism by the Slovenes and neglect of other and different sociopolitical environments in Yugoslavia is unjustified, according to Semolic.

One of the joint points of departure of both alliances is that both Slovenia and Yugoslavia are in a general social crisis, and that they are lagging behind developments in Europe. Both alliances urge affirmation of parliamentary democracy and competition of political ideas and free elections; their common denominator is politial pluralism. The Slovenian Democratic Alliance believes that the present political system is inefficient and unsuccessful, while the Social Democratic Alliance perceives the crisis in a political system which is undemocratic and weighed down by ideology, the consequences of which are reflected in all areas of social life.

As stated by their representatives, both alliances will work for Slovenia and Yugoslavia's entry into the EC. What is also common to them is their work for a state based on the rule of law, abolition of military courts in peacetime, control by the state and civilian society over the Armed Forces, equality of languages in the Yugoslav People's Army, and respect for conscientous objectors.

However, in the Social Democratic Alliance statement, special attention is paid to the economy, the status and role of trade unions, and social policy. It emphasizes: affirmation of labor as a contribution and a value, enterprise and pluralism of ownership, and an open economy with economic organizations not dependent on political organizations, but bearing their own responsibility. It also considers the development of agriculture and the abolition of land restrictions to be important. It believes that the political system and policy should serve economic growth; the single market cannot assert itself with centralist macromanagement at the federal level, but by economic organizations being totally independent. Autonomous trade unions, and this has been especially stressed in the program statement, are the most important factors of industrial democracy. This is why the Social Democrats will urge the free formation of independent and pluralist trade union organizations and links between them and, in parallel with this, the legal right to strike.

Of course, all these program ideas of the alliance still have to be discussed and opted for, and this is something that the Socialist Alliance is especially urging.

Arms Smugglers Caught in Slovenia, Imprisoned

AU2901201789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 89 p 36

[H.M. report: "Brothers Tried To Smuggle Arms"]

[Text] Tuzla, 24 Jan—Brothers Niko (42) and Mato (32) Markelic were yesterday transferred from a prison in Maribor to a prison in Tuzla. The Security Organs Center in Tuzla has started criminal proceedings against the two brothers for possessing 12 guns and 900 bullets, which were found in Mato's house in Donja Dubrava. Mato allegedly received the arms from his brother Niko, who was afraid to keep them in his house near Despotovac.

As we have learned, the brothers Markelic will be prosecuted in Tuzla by the Zivinice Basic Prosecutor, who was informed by the Maribor Basic Prosecutor's Office that the two brothers tried to bring undeclared goods into the country. In fact, these goods were a U.S. produced automatic rifle, 450 bullets of various caliber, 5 guns, and 5 knives.

The were caught at the Sentilj border crossing. The arms were found in the car belonging to Niko Markelic. During the preliminary hearing he defended himself by claiming that he was a passionate arms collector. According to some reports, friends and relatives of the Markelic brothers have already contacted acquaintances in the FRG who are willing to confirm Niko's passion for arms.

The investigation will certainly establish the true intentions of the Markelic brothers.